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ABSTRACT

A report on the Massachusetts Early Education Project is presented. The two general goals of this project are: (1) to investigate and describe the general status of early education and child care in Massachusetts, and (2) to develop a public perspective for the care and education of young children. This document is divided into nine chapters. Chapter One discusses the economic and political setting in which the issues of child care and early education are being debated. Chapter Two examines the functions of families and the social forces operating on families to change their structure. Chapter Three considers the need for child care: the concept of the need and the current practices of child care in Massachusetts. Chapter Four reviews the thought influencing programs for young children and describes different kinds of care for infants, toddlers and preschoolers. Chapter Five examines the development of early childhood education in schools, reviewing the introduction of kindergartens as a requirement for all school districts. Chapter Six reviews the importance of the providers of care, discusses problems of selecting, training and certifying child care and early education workers, and recommends plans for training and registering child care staff. Chapter Seven considers problems involved in evaluating children, particularly those with special needs. Chapter Eight contains an analysis of the costs of child care, and Chapter Nine presents an analysis of the current role of Massachusetts state government concerning children's services. (Author/CK)

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CHILD CARE IN MASSACHUSETTS

The Public Responsibility

Massachusetts Early Education Project

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Charles I. Bunting
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February 1972

Program in Public Psychology

for the Faculties of
Divinity, Education, Medicine, Arts and Sciences
Harvard University

A Study for the
Massachusetts Advisory Council on Education

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ERRATA

Omitted from the list of Research Assistants for the Massachusetts Early Education Project was Cynthia Gilles. Omitted from the list of Assistants was Jill Witten. Although they joined the Project staff in the later stages of the work, both were valuable contributors, and we apologize for the oversight.

P. ix: In the first full paragraph, Majorie should read

MARJORIE SCHILLER from President Harrington's staff...

P. 1-6: Third paragraph, first sentence should read:

In his message to Congress in February, 1969, the President put the full power of his Office behind...,

P. 2-34: Footnote 1 was omitted; please add

1 The Massachusetts Advisory Council on Home and Family under the leadership of Mrs. Marie Kargman has fostered continuing and promising work in this area.

P. 7-26: Last sentence of the text should read:

It is analogous in some respects to the model earlier presented for developmental evaluation of individual children.

27 March 1972

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MASSACHUSETTS EARLY EDUCATION PROJECT

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FOREWORD

The Advisory Council on Education is charged by law to "analyze, plan and evaluate the programs and systems used by all agencies for public education in the Commonwealth...and to recommend such policies as to promote and facilitate coordination, effectiveness and efficiency...". Since its inception in 1966 it has conducted a number of comprehensive studies of programs and systems--vocational education, teacher preparation and certification, adult education, pupil services, the comprehensive high school, education for the handicapped, and business services.

As these studies came off the press, it became increasingly evident that the overriding problems of the education and development of young children demanded attention, even though young children 0 to 5 years of age do not come under the direct purview of "public education." To mount an investigation the Council engaged Dr. Richard R. Rowe, Associate Dean of the Harvard Graduate School of Education and Director of the Program in Clinical Psychology and Public Practice, to gather a team of scholars and practitioners to study, analyze and recommend. The result of their efforts is comprehensive and impressive--certainly the most thorough effort by any state so far to describe for its people the condition of their families, the care and education of young children, and to lay out an inclusive program for the future.

The chapter on the family is a sobering picture and a vital agenda for the various publics, as well as our governments. One project was an in-depth home interview study of 516 Massachusetts families with children 0 to 6 years of age. From this survey a picture of the problems and desires of Massachusetts families has been extrapolated which will be of value in every state in the country. The study presents extensive descriptions of the various child care arrangements and a thorough analysis of their costs and programs.

The chapter on kindergartens traces their historic development from the 1967 Board of Education mandate that all communities must make available kindergarten experiences for their five-year-olds to the present dilemmas. Dr. Rowe and his staff justify the Board's mandate largely on the basis of equality of educational opportunity; they concur with the Board that five-year-olds not be required to attend kindergarten, but recommend that parents be required to register their children in the Spring of the calendar year that they become five, and that school systems make an effort to inform parents fully of the opportunities. They are critical of the low fiscal priority given by Massachusetts to its public schools and urge that the State take a series of steps to assist communities to plan and implement an expanded early childhood education program from kindergarten through grade three.

Perhaps the most valuable chapters are those which describe the uncoordinated programs for children administered by fourteen different state agencies and which lay out recommendations for reorganizing and consolidating all child care services in a department of child development under the Secretary of Human Services or, possibly, the Secretary of Educational Affairs. Depending upon the complexities of services and the degree of support from parents, private agencies and volunteers, the study estimates adequate and needed child care would cost the state and local communities from $400,000,000 to $900,000,000 a year. The study concludes that "The demand for child services is based on fundamental, long-term changes in the functioning of society, the composition of the labor force, the roles of women and men and changes in family life. Forceful economic and political realities underlie the marked rise in demand for child care services. They will not go away..."

The Advisory Council notes that executive and legislative leaders and their staffs have demonstrated keen interest in the progress of the study and its findings, conferring frequently with its director and participating in several of its meetings. The Council is hopeful that the study has already made significant impact as it presents this extensive and important report to the Governor, the legislators, educational, social and economic leaders, and to the people. It urges them to give the report careful study and to set about reordering priorities and reorganizing our governmental agencies to meet the problems and needs of our people and of our society.

William C. Gaige
Director of Research

PREFACE

In May of 1970, the Massachusetts Advisory Council on Education commissioned a comprehensive, eighteen-month research project on child care and early education in the Commonwealth. This study, entitled the Massachusetts Early Education Project, established two general goals for its work:

1) to investigate and describe the current status of early education and child care in Massachusetts; to ascertain the extent of need of Massachusetts families with young children for support and assistance in their nurturing, childrearing and education activities;

2) to develop a public perspective for the care and education of young children which can serve as the foundation for an integrated and comprehensive state plan for child care and early education in the Commonwealth, a plan that integrates new programs for young children such as kindergarten with the first few years of elementary school; a plan designed to provide parents and children with the aid they need and want; a realistic plan congruent with the modernized structure of state government and economically feasible at a time of increased pressure on the state budget.

Our work in these months has ranged deeply and widely, as we have studied fundamental questions in the care and education of Massachusetts' young children. We began by visiting towns, villages and cities across the Commonwealth, talking with and learning from parents, program operators, school officials, and local leaders about existing and needed services for young children in urban, suburban, and rural areas in Massachusetts. In July, 1970, we convened a conference of nationally known child development specialists to discuss some of the psychological and social issues in child care and early education.

We interviewed and worked with able and dedicated public servants in the Departments of Education, Public Health, Public Welfare, Mental Health, Community Affairs, Public Safety, and in the Office of Program and Planning Coordination, discovering many and often overlapping efforts of state government to assist families and young children in Massachusetts. We contributed to and were educated by members of the Governor's Advisory Committee on Child Development.

We met with our Study Committee whose members regularly advised us of possibilities and pitfalls on our paths. We shared our observations with and were aided by the members and staff of the Massachusetts Advisory Council on Education.

We plunged into the voluminous literature on child development, programs for young children, planning and implementation of human service and education programs, and sought out experts in Massachusetts to guide our efforts. We designed and commissioned a major survey of Massachusetts families with children 0 to 6, interviewing mothers and fathers about their child care arrangements, problems, attitudes, needs, and desires.

We organized a conference on licensing in November, 1970, attended by representatives of state and federal government, which attempted to clarify the complex issues of licensing programs for young children in Massachusetts. We contacted and closely worked with leaders in the executive and legislative branches of Massachusetts government, informing them of our research and proposing possible avenues for governmental action.

In June and July, 1971, we planned and led a series of ten Regional Child Care Meetings where over six hundred parents, program operators, and citizens from each of the eight regions in Massachusetts voiced their child care and early education needs, concerns and hopes.

We sent a questionnaire to school officials in every school district in the Commonwealth, gathering data on plans for implementation of the Department of Education's kindergarten mandate, and we held regional meetings with school officials in each region of the state to enable teachers, principals and superintendents to participate in developing the school-related recommendations. We consulted with leaders in the Department of Education who are responsible for the state's policies on kindergarten and early elementary education.

We queried all training institutions for early education and child care teachers and staff and gathered information on their training, their plans, and their needs.

We watched children play in homes, schools, and centers all over the Commonwealth, hearing requests for aid and assistance, some loud, others faint and shy--from parents, program operators, local and state officials, their children. We observed and participated in battles of well-meaning grownups over distribution of scarce early education and child care resources. We were impressed by the many caring and dedicated women and men who work all over Massachusetts to make their communities better places for families and children. But we were also concerned by the fact that the needs of children so easily become subordinated to fiscal economies, political power, and personal convenience.

We engaged in a process of gathering and disseminating information, asking questions, helping to bring people in touch with each other in seemingly endless meetings, conferences and late-night discussions. We lived with a mandate that called for us to suggest plans and programs adequate to meet the needs of all children and families.

We listened and thought and read and then wrote. Our first drafts were widely discussed and debated. The Study Committee met with us seven times to review and critique our thinking. Two drafts of most of the report were reviewed by the Study Committee, and their comments and suggestions substantially affected the final report.

> Chapter One discusses the economic and political setting in which issues of child care and early education are being debated, and presents our value orientation to some of the basic issues of the rights of indivisuals and the role of government.
>
> Chapter Two examines the functions of families and the social forces operating on families to change their structure and, in some respects, to weaken seriously their ability to meet the needs of children and parents.

Chapter Three considers the need for child care: the concept of need, and the current practices of and stated desires for child care of Massachusetts parents.

Chapter Four reviews the history of thought influencing programs for young children and describes different kinds of care for infants, toddlers and preschoolers in home-based and center-based child care programs.

Chapter Five examines the development of early childhood education in schools, reviewing the introduction of kindergartens as a requirement of all school districts in Massachusetts and recommending ways to strengthen early childhood education from kindergarten through the third grade.

Chapter Six reviews the importance of the providers of care, discusses problems of selecting, training and certifying child care and early education workers, and recommends plans for training and registering child care staff.

Chapter Seven considers problems involved in evaluating children, particularly those with special needs, and discusses standards for and large-scale evaluation of child care programs, and ways to use evaluation methods for improving individual programs.

Chapter Eight contains an analysis of the costs of child care, including reasons for the apparently large differences in costs between different kinds of programs and reviews some of the current sources of funds for child care.

Chapter Nine presents an analysis of the current role of Massachusetts state government concerning children's services and contains recommendations for improving the effectiveness of state government in serving children and families.

The ways to a society and a world which cares well for its children and families are many. There is no one right way which should be advocated above all others, and we see all around us each day possibilities for a more caring world. We have tried to chart some of the paths which appear promising and deserve further attention. We have tried to point out some directions, to incline a few more heads and hearts toward the lives of children and families.

Our work will have been successful if it helps to develop an informed public debate over the needs of children and their families in the context of our whole society. We believe that sensitive and thorough consideration of the care and education of our children will help us build a world where children, women, and men can thrive.

Richard R. Rowe
February 24, 1972

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This report was a cooperative project involving large numbers of people, many of whom volunteered days and nights of their time to make it possible. Each staff member undertook primary responsibility for some part of the study and helped on other parts. ROBERT FEIN was involved in planning the study, in designing the parent survey, and preparing Chapters Three and Four on child care needs and programs for young children. JOHN BUTLER was responsible for the work on kindergarten and the development of early childhood education in schools. He, with the able assistance of CYNTHIA GILLES and DIANE SCHODLATZ, conducted regional meetings throughout the state on kindergarten, surveyed the status of kindergarten in all school districts of the Commonwealth, and prepared Chapter Five. CHARLES BUNTING gathered primary data on the services provided for young children by Massachusetts state agencies and drafted Chapter Nine on the role of state government. MARY ROWE assisted in the analysis of the parent survey and prepared Chapter Eight on the costs of child care. GLENN JOHNSON drafted Chapter Two on the role of the family and its current status.

JAMES KENNELLY contributed extensively to our understanding of federal and state child care organizations and policies and assisted in the planning of the regional child care meetings. EDITH RUINA assisted in the research on infants and licensing. BARBARA BRADEN developed much of the material on certification of staff, and GENE TINNIE worked on the role of the director of child care programs. ROBERT PASICK worked with us in preparing a major proposal for a film concerning child care, which regrettably was not funded. JACK REYNOLDS helped design the parent survey questionnaire, selected the sample, and supervised the data collection.

CAROL WEISS was the staff coordinator for the entire project, keeping us in contact with each other, planning staff meetings, advisory and regional meetings, contacting child care planners, providers and consumers throughout the state for information and advice, and she prepared the final report of the regional child care meetings.

COURTNEY CAZDEN brought to the project her specialized knowledge of child development and contributed most to the parts of the project concerned with

our understanding of human development and the implications for child care. GERALD LESSER was influential in the basic conceptualization of the project and provided much appreciated advice and encouragement throughout.

Many others, not on the staff, in and out of government, provided crucial assistance to the project. GOVERNOR FRANCIS W. SARGENT and SENATE PRESIDENT KEVIN B. HARRINGTON, both with long records of supporting improved services for children, showed continuing interest in the project and officially sponsored the regional child care meetings. MAJORIE SCHILLER from President Harrington's staff and JEFF POLLOCK of the Governor's staff provided close liaison, involving many hours, between the project staff and their respective offices. SENATOR JACK BACKMAN, Chairman of the Social Welfare Committee and CHRISTINE CHAMBERLAIN invested many hours with the staff examining legislative possibilities. ROSEMARY JUDSON, from House Speaker Bartley's office, also participated in some of our legislative planning meetings.

GWEN MORGAN, Day Care Coordinator in the Office for Program Planning and Coordination, invested substantial time and energy assisting the project. Her vast knowledge of child care, especially the extremely complex federal-state-local relations, greatly contributed to our understanding of the problems of developing effective delivery systems for government support of child care. Though we disagreed on some important matters of implementation, we shared common commitments concerning the needs for child care and the basic roles which government should have.

We also wish to thank the members of the Governor's Advisory Committee on Child Development for their interest and support of the project. We were able to coordinate many of our efforts with the task forces of that committee, especially those on staff development and legislation. Many of our ideas were generated and refined in such meetings.

In the Department of Education, COMMISSIONER NEIL SULLIVAN, a long-time supporter of early childhood education, and the Department staff gave full support to the project by providing information, professional assistance, and some much appreciated discussion and advice. We are especially grateful for the energetic involvement of BLANCHE MARTIN, BARBARA KING, AND THOMAS PASSIOS, whose contributions were influential. SECRETARY CRONIN, appointed as the project was being

completed, responded to our final draft and has indicated a continuing commitment to early childhood education which bodes well for the future.

BERNICE FACTOR in the Department of Health enthusiastically provided information, advice, and criticism throughout the project. Her comments on staff training are greatly appreciated as is her listing of educational opportunities in Massachusetts.

SECRETARY OF HUMAN SERVICES PETER GOLDMARK and UNDERSECRETARY DONALD SCHERL made helpful suggestions concerning state organization. Their commitment to developing improved services for children is encouraging.

We are grateful for the advice and assistance of RONALD JACKSON, of the Advisory Council on Education, who provided effective and enthusiastic support for the project, and of WILLIAM GAIGE, Director of Research for the Council. Deeply interested in the project and its results, they were energetic in facilitating our efforts and scrupulous in insisting on the independence of the project and its conclusions.

We wish to thank the members of the Study Committee for their active participation. Their advice and criticism from many perspectives greatly enriched the project.

We also wish to thank the faculty and members of the Program in Public Psychology who provided ideas, criticisms and encouragement throughout the project.

Finally we wish to thank ANN COUCH whose untiring and able involvement in administering the final stages of the project and in preparing the final report were indispensable.

We have included a more complete list of those who contributed to the project in Appendix D.

MASSACHUSETTS EARLY EDUCATION PROJECT

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CHILD CARE IN MASSACHUSETTS

The Public Responsibility

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CHAPTER ONE

CHILDREN AND THE PUBLIC RESPONSIBILITY

Child care has become a public issue. In 1970 nearly half of all children in Massachusetts under six were cared for at least some hours on a regular basis by someone other than their parents. Nationally nearly half of all mothers with children under 18 were in the labor force, compared with 18 per cent in 1948. Nearly a third of mothers with children under six are now working outside the home, and this percentage is steadily increasing. In many communities child care has become a political issue. There are widespread and growing demands for greatly increasing services to all children.

A major public debate has begun in the halls of state legislatures and the Congress concerning the kinds of child care and early education that are needed, their effects upon families and children, and their effects on the public welfare. In 1971 Congress passed a comprehensive child development bill which would have substantially expanded the scope of the federal government's support of programs for all children. However, the advocates of increased support for children were disorganized. And there was sufficient public concern and confusion about expanding the role of government in the lives of children so that it was politically possible for Mr. Nixon to veto the bill.

Now, new proposals are being developed, and among the continued confusion, lack of agreement about goals, and pressure for action, the debate intensifies over what the public responsibility for children should be, and why.

I. THE POLITICS OF CHILDREN

Public concern for child care and early childhood education is not a new phenomenon in American society. Before the turn of the century philanthropists and educators were advocating the benefits of early education as a way of overcoming the negative effects of parental neglect in the "slums" of our cities. During the Second World War day care centers, across the country, were available to mothers who wanted to participate in the war effort. For decades nursery schools have been available to the middle and upper classes who wanted and could afford them.

Yet within the past decade the public consciousness of the needs for early childhood education and child care has increased in an unprecedented manner. We have experienced an enormous growth in public knowledge and concern about programs for young children. National magazines, television--all facets of media--have brought child care issues into each family home and before the eyes of the nation. What accounts for this dramatic increase in attention?

A. Economic and Political Forces Increasing the Demand for Child Care

A number of political and economic forces are having a cumulative effect upon the demand for child care and early education. Many of these forces are long-term economic and social factors, reflecting the evolving economic and social roles of parents in society.

Changes in the Labor Force

Over the course of this century a steady rise in the percentage of fathers and mothers of young children who are working outside the home has been a major factor in the increased demand for publicly-supported child care. First fathers, other male relatives, and hired laborers, left the household for a different work place, thus sharply decreasing the care, training and supervision available to older children. In the last two decades, mothers, older daughters, and other relatives have increasingly left the household for paying work, thus sharply decreasing the supply of parental and non-parental child care at the same time that demand has increased. The increased social acceptability and economic necessity for women to work outside the home, the desire of educated mothers to use their training in a paying job, the changing roles of women, are all overlapping and cumulative in their effects. Furthermore, the forces which lead parents of young children to enter the labor force rather than remain at home with their children are not likely to be reversed; their effects upon the need for child care are likely to be permanent.

Equality of Opportunity

A second factor in the increased demand for child care and early education is the press for equality of opportunity among minorities and among the poor. The effects of the Supreme Court decisions requiring integrated schools, of the civil rights and the Black Power movements, of increased voter registration, all combined to make it possible to begin serious attempts to eliminate poverty in the nation. One of the central features of the War on Poverty in the 1960s was Head Start. Head Start was seen as a key element in the strategy designed to eliminate poverty, as a way to break the poverty cycle by providing an enriched environment for poor children which would make up for the opportunities which were missing at home. Head Start involves parents in the planning and administration of the programs and emphasizes preparing children for later schooling and meeting medical, dental, nutritional needs, and social and emotional development. It has developed strong support at the local level, and, even though it has critics, Head Start has become a powerful grass roots force which few politicians can disregard.

Welfare Reform

A third political factor in child care is welfare reform. Burgeoning welfare rolls are a major public concern. There is widespread agreement that the entire welfare system should be redesigned. At times it seems as though the effect of the present system is to maintain people in poverty rather than to help them become self-supporting. The steadily rising costs of welfare and its manifest ineffectiveness and inefficiencies have led politicians from the left and right to search for better ways to help those who are poor. Almost every plan proposed involves some kind of child care support.

Some see the problem as one of unemployment, and the solution as one of getting people off the welfare rolls and into jobs. If parents on welfare are to receive job training and be employed, their children will need care during their parents' working hours. The working poor must also have child care arrangements which are at least minimally satisfactory and not prohibitively expensive. Often the cost of unsubsidized child care for two children exceeds the total take-home pay of a working mother.

Many are wondering whether it would be less expensive, better for children, and more satisfying for some parents if parents were offered the choice of caring for their own children, rather than requiring them to take low-paying jobs while their children are cared for by someone else. Thus the search for an improved welfare system inevitably requires attention to child care needs.

Importance of the Early Years

Finally, the growing recognition of the importance of the first few years of life has also had an effect upon the politics of children. This is not a new realization; the importance of early childhood has long been recognized by parents, educators, and our major social institutions. Now, in addition, child development research has impressed us with the crucial influence of these years on a person's physical, emotional, intellectual and social development.

Human beings are distinguished in the animal kingdom by their relative helplessness at birth and their prolonged dependence on adults. The child's first need is for physical survival, and after survival, development as a human being. This development requires an ongoing relationship with one or more adults who are specifically responsive to a child's behavior. Initially an emotionally responsive environment is one which provides warmth, handling, and feeding. Later this responsiveness takes a more visual and verbal form as the child's world is filled with sights, sounds, colors, shapes, and textures provided by the adults who care for him. A responsive world is one which smiles back when a child smiles, talks when the child babbles and later begins to speak, is ready with new materials and words to extend his activities, and shares and reinforces the child's delight in each new accomplishment. Without this kind of responsiveness, a child's emotional and cognitive development may be seriously impaired. With it, the cognitive and motivational groundwork is laid for the mastery of later developmental tasks.

Parents and politicians are seeking ways to ensure that these basic needs are met for all children. Although much of the energy for increasing publicly-supported child care is based on economic and political forces, centering on the needs of adults, there is also growing support for responding to the needs of all children and ensuring them a healthy and stimulating beginning in life.

B. The Public Response

The public response to the increased interest in and demand for children's services has been mixed: expectant, confused, impatient, and contradictory. Nevertheless, the cumulative effect has been a slow, uneven increase in the pressure for improved services for children which began to be reflected in the actions of government.

The federal government began to increase its support for child care in the mid-sixties. Head Start began in 1965. In 1967, Title IV-A of the Social Security Act provided for an unlimited 75 per cent federal reimbursement of costs for state investments in child care for welfare recipients, potential welfare recipients, and former welfare recipients, all broadly defined. This remains one of the most useful pieces of federal legislation for child care, in many ways superior to subsequent proposals. Its open-ended provision and broad coverage have been used by some states, such as Michigan and California, to expand child care enormously.

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Other states, including Massachusetts, have held back from using Title IV-A extensively. Lacking a clear public policy, incompletely understanding the issues, and fearing a massive, uncontrollable expansion of child care programs, some cautious politicians and administrators chose to wait until the public demand was greater and the implications of government action more clear.

In 1968, Follow Through was developed to learn how to maintain in primary schools the gains from Head Start. It also was hoped that improved teaching methods and the enthusiasm developed by parents for Head Start could move along with the Head Start children into the elementary schools and have a reforming effect upon the whole school system.

In his message to Congress in January, 1969, the President put the full power of his Office behind the goal of comprehensive child development services for all children, saying:

> So crucial is the matter of early growth that we must make a national commitment to providing all American children an opportunity for healthful and stimulating development during the first five years of life...I pledge myself to that commitment.[1]

In the Spring of 1969 the Office of Child Development was established within Health, Education, and Welfare as a major bureaucratic symbol, and hopefully more than a symbol, of increased federal recognition of the importance of focusing on children. Mr. Nixon introduced Family Assistance Plan legislation which was to provide day care funding for some working mothers and for mothers in training and rehabilitation programs.

Once again Mr. Nixon made his commitment to children clear.

> The child care I propose is more than custodial. This administration is committed to a new emphasis on child development in the first five years of life. The day care that would

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[1] Message to Congress, Economic Opportunities Act, New York Times, Feb. 20, 1969, p. 33.

> be part of this plan would be of a quality that will help in the development of the child and provide for his health and safety, and would break the poverty cycle for this new generation.[1]

The private sector also became involved; a number of new franchise operations were organized with the anticipation that with a major influx of federal funds, careful planning, and economies of scale, day care could become a profitable business. Some industries began to experiment with child care as a way to provide better working conditions for mothers and to reduce employee turnover.

Sesame Street began, in 1970, as a jointly supported project of government and foundations. With its initial budget of $8 million Sesame Street reached out into the homes of millions of preschool children daily with programs carefully designed to provide them with the basic skills needed to succeed later on in school.

In 1970 there were serious moves to overhaul the welfare system. Reforms in the welfare system and increasing pressure for improved child care and early education moved along parallel courses, sometimes overlapping, sometimes not. Major day care research projects were funded as politicians and professionals alike realized how little they knew that was relevant to developing a meaningful public policy for children. The federal government commissioned studies to examine the policy issues, the costs and benefits of different kinds of services to children, the definition of "good" child care and how much it costs, the effectiveness of Head Start, Follow Through, Sesame Street, the delivery systems that should be developed to support children's services at the local level.

The White House Conference on Children in December 1970 increased the visibility of the needs of children, and the pressure for government action to support expanded services. The stage was set for action.

In 1971, several bills were introduced in the Congress to provide federal funds for child care.

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[1] Message to Congress on Welfare Plan, New York Times, Aug. 12, 1969, p. 18.

New bills and revisions of earlier ones appeared almost monthly. As they worked their way slowly through the Congress, it became clear that Congress was ready to act, although there was no clear consensus about what particular approach and what particular bill should be supported. The debates centered on how many billions it would eventually cost to provide adequate care; who would be eligible: only the poor, the working poor, all children; and the delivery system: how to get the money to the local level, what the role of the state governments should be. In addition, many wondered if child care would have any effect on the welfare rolls and how much compensatory early education would really help disadvantaged children obtain more equality of opportunity later in life.

In December, 1971, Congress passed the Mondale-Brademas bill providing for major comprehensive child care available to all children, with authorization of up to $2 billion in its second year, only to have it vetoed by Mr. Nixon with an unusually strong statement of his unwillingness to commit "the vast moral authority of the national government to the side of communal approaches to child rearing over against the family-centered approach." The bill was denounced for "fiscal irresponsibility, administrative unworkability and /for its/ family-weakening implications."[1]

Now, in 1972, an election year, sobered lobbyists for children are reorganizing. New bills, reshaped, more carefully researched, are again wending their ways through the Congress. Although the form of federal legislation is unclear, there is a high probability that Congress will again act and that in time the federal government will provide major new resources for child care and early education.

While most Americans seem to support increased government services for children and families, many are deeply worried about such developments, and some actively oppose them.

Some are concerned about the trend toward a weakening of the family structure and an apparent tendency for government to move steadily into the private lives of individuals and families. From both the right and the left we hear strong warnings for government to stay clear of any but the most necessary involvement in child care.

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[1] New York Times, Dec. 10, 1971, p. 20.

Some minority groups see early education, and especially all-day care, as a potential strategy to separate children from their parents. "Re-training children, to break the poverty cycle," is sometimes read as a plan by federal social planners to destroy black and other minority cultures. This is a charge taken seriously by many.

Others are concerned that care away from the child's mother, particularly for very young children, is harmful to children. The classic studies of severe deprivation among institutionalized children have reinforced many fears about the effects of any kind of child care that does not involve the parent. Soviet and Israeli experience with infant care do not support these deprivation fears, but have not really decreased the widespread concern about the effects of removing children from a home relationship too early.

Also, many parents simply feel that "a good mother stays with her child." As our survey of Massachusetts parents showed, many mothers who would prefer to spend more time away from their children believe that a "good mother" would not feel that way.

Thus, although there is a growing recognition of the need for more and better services for children, and a growing willingness to give priority to child care and early education, the issues are complex, often emotional ones, and many people are confused about what should be done and how it should be done.

Despite these concerns, widespread public support for child care, which has been latent, is building. In Massachusetts over half of parents of young children whom we surveyed agreed that "America should change its priorities, putting children and families above everything else." While not yet effectively organized, these opinions are beginning to be recognized as a major political force. They are being heard on Beacon Hill and on Capitol Hill, alike.

II. SOME BASIC VALUES AND ORIENTATIONS REFLECTED IN THIS STUDY

As demand for services for children increases, concerned parents, professionals, and legislators are being asked to create and support programs for children.

They, in turn, are seeking assistance in developing child care possibilities and priorities. This study is an attempt to illuminate some of the issues by providing some of the basic facts needed for an informed consideration of child care, and by suggesting a perspective which can be used by the public and its representatives in developing policies for children. Although there are many complex technical issues involved in child care and early education which our research and professional advise will hopefully illuminate, at base most of the difficult issues are political, questions of value and priority.

Any attempt to conduct research in the context of social policy inevitably involves judgments about what is desirable. We brought to this study certain values and, in the process of our work, evolved others which are reflected throughout the report. They are presented here explicitly so that the reader can more easily recognize them as they appear later among the welter of facts, impressions and opinions which this report contains.

A. Individual Decisions

The sense of making meaningful choices about one's own life is central to being a mature person in our society. This sense, of being able to make an informed, competent decision, is even more important for our well-being and maturity than our standard of living, amount of education, and working conditions, important as they are. Much of what is wrong about the present welfare system is that it has inadvertently prevented individuals from making their own meaningful choices, maintaining, and sometimes creating, unhealthy dependency from which many do not escape. In the name of helping, we often have crippled and have promoted helplessness. The organization of government services and its decision-making processes have often had the effect of removing choices from individuals rather than facilitating them. Thus a basic task of government is to learn how to help without creating helplessness.

B. Centrality of the Family and Parental Choice

We believe that the family is a basic and necessary structure for caring for young children and meeting their needs. While there are many different family structures, the basic unit of a small kinship group of adults, providing nurturance and socialization for their children, is normally the desired structure for raising children.

Thus programs for children should facilitate and promote families, including the needs of parents as well as of children. The vast majority of parents are seriously committed to helping their children thrive. They need meaningful support. Many want help with their role as parents, including not only good child care and education but also help in becoming better parents. As the number of women in the labor force grows, and as more and more child care becomes paid for, we must develop meaningful incentives for parents, fathers and mothers, to be responsible with their children. We must take care not to develop programs which have the inadvertent effect of withdrawing parents even further from responsive, long-term relationships with their children. Well-designed programs for children need not weaken families, but can in fact be a significant force for strengthening families, helping them become less isolated, more healthy and enjoyable for all members of the family.

C. Rights of Children

In the past, children have often been thought to belong to parents, with no rights of their own, completely subject to the parents' wishes. Over the past century there has been a steady trend to establish certain basic rights of children. In 1852 parents in Massachusetts were required to send their children to school at least twelve weeks a year. At the turn of the century child labor laws were developed to protect children from being exploited in factories and businesses. We are finally beginning to develop meaningful legislation concerning child abuse which includes legal protection against neglect as well as bodily harm.

Although the vast majority of parents care well for their children, some children are not adequately cared for, and a few are seriously abused; in those cases their rights must be stated unambiguously and must be protected. It is not enough, however, to protect children from serious harm.

Every child should be able to begin life in a healthy and accepting environment which enables the child to develop into a healthy and mature adult. We should recognize that every child has a right to a family in which basic needs for nurturance and socialization can be met, a living arrangement which provides not only for physical needs, but also for an accepting, responsive and stable environment in which to grow. Fulfilling this responsibility to each child will be controversial, expensive and enormously difficult, but we believe it should be done.

D. Diversity

Parental preferences, reflecting individual and cultural differences, the different life styles of children and of those who provide care for children, and the uncertainty about the long-term and even short-term effects of different kinds of child care make it unwise to promote one set of programs. We are impressed by how little is known about the effects of different kinds of child care and education and believe that they should be characterized by a high degree of diversity for the foreseeable future.

With the increasing involvement of government in supporting children's services, it is extremely important to guard against the development of sterile uniformity, requiring arrangements which inadvertently or otherwise inhibit variety in child care programs. In order to prevent such premature narrowing into one kind of care, we should have a deliberate policy of promoting diversity in child care and early education arrangements.

E. The Role of Government

A central issue facing the public is to decide what roles government should have in supporting services for children. This is a highly charged issue with few indifferent souls. In the process of this study we have concluded that the role of government concerning children should be twofold. First, it has responsibility to prevent the basic rights of children from being violated. Second, it should support families by helping parents develop their own options for child care and early education, including direct support to families as the primary setting for child care, supplementary child care for those families who need it and alternative family arrangements for those children whose basic needs cannot otherwise be met.

Public officials should not promote government policies which, inadvertently or by design, have the effect of establishing a single standard of what they consider to be excellence in child care and education. Government should first provide a basic floor of protection for children and parents, and then should provide active leadership in facilitating *parental* choices and fostering diversity of caring arrangements for children.

The expense of child care programs will be very great, even if it covers only those children and families who are in desperate need. Multiple sources of resources for child care are in use today, and this pattern of diverse funding and support must be continued if child care programs are to be expanded in the measure they are needed.

In this chapter, we have provided an overall context within which to consider the needs for child care and early education in Massachusetts, and the ways these needs can best be met. We have reviewed some of the economic and political forces which are rapidly increasing demand for services for children, and have described the recent history of the public responses to those needs. We have presented some personal perspectives and value commitments which we brought to and evolved during this study so that they may be recognized and taken into account as the reader considers our analyses and recommendations.

We now turn to a consideration of families, the largest child care system in America.

CHAPTER TWO

FAMILIES AND CHILDREN

This chapter concerns the family as a social institution, its functions, its current status in our society,and needed changes related to the family as these matters relate to young children. The family is and will be the primary setting in which child care occurs; even extreme plans for growth of nonparental child care do not replace the family as the major child care unit of our society. Nevertheless, there are major changes occuring today which are having profound effects on the structure and functioning of families. In a few short generations, American society has become much more industrialized, urbanized, and mobile. As a result other institutions have greatly increased their influence over adults and children.

In this chapter, we attempt to identify the core functions of the family which are necessary in any society. We examine the effects of current social policies and trends upon both the functions and the structure of the family, consider what alternatives available to us are desirable, and make recommendations that may support the healthy development of families.

I. THE FUNCTIONS OF FAMILIES

The family is a universal social institution. While there are widely different kinds of family structures around the world, all cultures have some basic form of family. The family structure we know best is the so-called nuclear family: a father, mother, and their children. Yet extended families are also familiar, involving three or even four generations and extending outward on the family tree to include uncles, cousins, and in-laws. The extended family, once quite common as a functional living unit, with the members either living in the same household or in nearby homes, is now rapidly disappearing in the United States. In Massachusetts, for example, only four per cent of families with children six or under have an adult other than mother and father living in the home.[1]

As we look at other cultures, we see a wide range of family structures, including families with more than one husband, families with more than one wife, and children raised in communal settings.

Given wide diversity in family structures, what are the essential core elements of the family to keep in mind in developing a social policy for child rearing: One of the more influential conceptions of the family was presented by George Murdock who argued that the nuclear family in some form is universal and essential in order for four basic functions to be fulfilled.[2] These functions are:

1. socialization of children

2. economic cooperation between husband and wife

3. reproduction

4. sexual relations

It is difficult to accept Murdock's definition as universal even though the nuclear family seems to be most prevalent in Western culture. While it is true that most societies have families which seem to fulfill these four functions, anthropologists have found many cultures in which one or more of these functions are not carried out primarily in the family unit and where the nuclear family is difficult to discern within the social structure. An alternative definition of the family offered by Ira Reiss seems more helpful in understanding current changes in families and child care. He defines the universal family institution as "a small kinship-structured group with the key function of nurturant socialization of the newborn."[3]

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[1] MEEP Survey of Massachusetts Parents, reported in Chapter 3.

[2] George P. Murdock, Social Structure (New York: Macmillan, 1949).

[3] Ira L. Reiss, The Family System in America (New York: Holt, Reinhart and Winston, 1971), p. 19.

A central feature of Reiss' notion of kinship is that it is a social and psychological definition more than a biological one. A kinship tie is an extremely close relationship, closer than friendship and closer than most other ties a person has. It involves "special rights of possession" which are deep and long-term. He argues that such a relationship is necessary in order to sustain over time the kind of nurturant and socializing relationship which the child requires in order to thrive.

Reiss bases his argument for such a universal core on extensive cross-cultural studies, studies of primates, and studies of children raised in the absence of nurturant adults. He argues that in a culture without close emotional ties within a family as a consistent feature of the culture, the young are not adequately nurtured and socialized, and the culture quickly disintegrates, unable to hold together sufficiently to reproduce itself.

Thus it seems that in order for a society to survive there must be small, kinship-structured groups to carry out the necessary nurturant socialization. Nonfamily members can temporarily fulfill a family function. Such is the case when a child's nurse in a wealthy family becomes the substantial caretaker of the child. At some point, however, if the relationship between the adult and the child is adequate to meet the nurturant, socialization needs of the child, the relationship takes on the "special rights of possession" and becomes a kinship tie.

While there can be a wide range of family structures both between societies and within a given society, it seems essential for the functions of the family to be consistently fulfilled. A society endangers its own survival to the extent that it fails to fulfill these functions, either because it retains old structures that are no longer consistently producing strong kinship ties, and providing nurturant socialization of the children, or because it evolves new structures which fail to fulfill those functions.

This then is one of the key questions we must ask ourselves. To what extent do our families consist of close kinship structures which provide nurturant socialization for our children? And to what extent have we developed family structures which no longer function as families? In order to answer these questions we must move to a consideration of families as they are today, their problems and their strengths.

II. MASSACHUSETTS FAMILIES: HOW ARE THEY DOING?

In the preamble to their report on the status of families in our society, the 1970 White House Conference on Children wrote:

> Our national rhetoric not withstanding, the actual patterns of life in America today are such that children and families come last.[1] (Italics theirs)

Children, parents, and families come last in Massachusetts as well. In what follows we illustrate the ways in which the status of Massachusetts families reflects conditions in the wider national society. We have organized our observations under three large categories, each of which contains reasons why people increasingly find themselves in difficulty in their roles as parents, children, and family members. These categories can be summarized as follows:

a. the economic sector is given priority over family life, leaving the family as an "underdeveloped" social institution;

b. children and adults are isolated from each other in a wide variety of ways and segregated into age groups;

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[1] Report of Forum 15: "Children and Parents: Together in the World". The White House Conference on Children, December 1970 (mimeographed draft).

c. social institutions other than the family are having increasing influence on children and adults, especially through peer groups, media, child care specialists, and government.

This section analyzes each of these categories of influence upon the family in an effort to provide a greater understanding of the nature of the changes which the family in our society is now undergoing.

A. The Predominance of Economic Influence

The family is an "underdeveloped" institution relative to the businesses and corporations which comprise the major economic influences in our society. We have borrowed the term "underdeveloped" from economics and applied it to the family in part to make this point: The character of family life is intimately connected with the economic organization of our society. During the past generation, several prominent sociologists [1] have attempted to explain how changes in the economic organization of American society have necessitated changes in the structure and functions of American families. Although their analyses have had to be carefully qualified at several points,[1] the main argument stands, viz., that industry's need for a mobile, specialized labor force was incompatible with large extended kinship networks common in earlier families, and that as a result the family "adapted" itself be becoming somewhat smaller and very much more mobile. The "conjugal" or "nuclear" family familiar to us now is, as a result, economically independent of both of the parents' original families, small, "neolocal," occupationally and geographically mobile, and has as its primary functions the socialization of children and the emotional stabilization of adult personalities.[2]

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[1] See for example:

Ernest W. Burgess, Harvey J. Locke, and Mary M. Thomas, The Family: From Institution to Companionship (New York: American Book Company, 3rd ed., 1963).

William F. Ogburn, Technology and the Changing Family (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1955).

Harold L. Wilensky and Charles N. Lebeaux, Industrial Society and Social Welfare (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1958).

Talcott Parsons, "The Social Structure of the Family" in Ruth N. Anshen, ed. The Family: Its Function and Destiny (New York: Harper, 1959), pp. 241-271.

__________, "The Kinship System of the Contemporary United States," American Anthropologist 45 (Jan. 1943): 22-38.

Alfred M. Mirande, "The Isolated Nuclear Family Hypothesis: A Reanalysis" in John N. Edwards, The Family and Change (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969).

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[1] See John N. Edward, The Family and Change (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969), especially the articles by Greenfield, Furstenberg, Litwak, Sussman, and Burchinal. See also, Eugene Litwak, "Occupational Mobility and Extended Family Cohesion," American Sociological Review 25 (Feb. 1960): 9-21; Marvin B. Sussman, "The Isolated Nuclear Family: Fact or Fiction?" in Marvin Sussman, Sourcebook in Marriage and the Family (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1963), pp. 48-55; Marvin B. Sussman, "The Help Pattern in the Middle-Class Family" in Sourcebook, pp. 380-385.

[2] This last point is particularly the view of Talcott Parsons in Talcott Parsons, R. Freed Bales, et al., Family, Socialization, and Interaction Process (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1955, Chap. 1).

What is important here is the insight that in the process of economic and social change, the economy is, on balance, the independent variable.[1] That is, the family adapts itself in response to economic changes and only rarely is the reverse true. The size, complexity, and power of the economic sphere, relative to the family, is accurately reflected in the pressures family members feel impinging on themselves, and in the ways in which they respond to those pressures. For example, the economic survival of most families is dependent on the occupational performance of breadwinners. As a result, occupational demands placed on breadwinners take precedence in the daily life of most families. If Dad or Mom must work late at the office, be transferred to the new plant in Rochester, be laid off without pay for the slow season, or take inventory on Saturdays, in most circumstances the family must simply adjust. When mothers go to work outside the home (and a third of the mothers of young children work regularly), other family memebers--and the mother--must make very great adjustments. When there is a serious conflict between the demands of our occupations and the demands of our family, almost inevitably the family gives way. If the primary breadwinner has a low-status occupation, the family's dependence on his income becomes even more severe. Yet it is not only the low-status employee who must respond quickly to the demands of his job. Perhaps for different reasons, holders of high-status jobs must meet increasing demands on their time and energy in order to maintain their present occupational status. The power of the occupational system is felt by all, regardless of social class. What differs perhaps is the form of a family's dependency.

The manner in which we participate in the economy is more than an issue of survival however, for it also shapes the major dimensions of our individual and family lives. Since some occupations are viewed in our society as more valuable than others, occupation is the key to status, and beyond that to social class.[1] Some sociologists have filled their literature with studies correlating differences in social class with political preference, religious affiliation, level of education, housing, residential location, consumption patterns, etc. We are arguing here that our economic lives also permeate and affect the "private sphere" which is the locus of family life, the ties of kinship, friendship, and neighborhood, participation in clubs and organizations, etc. Perhaps an illustration from everyday life will make clear what we mean.

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[1] Alvin L. Schorr, "Family Policy in the United States," International Social Science Journal (UNESCO) 14, no. 3 (1962): 452-467.

We have all had the occasion to meet a stranger in a social situation and wonder who he or she may be. To find out who he or she is, we usually begin by asking his or her name. After that, we are likely to ask: "What do you do"?, which is understood to mean "What is your occupation"? For experience has taught us that to know how a person contributes to the economic system is to know a lot about who he or she may be. What is true about individuals is also true of families: knowing that the primary breadwinner is a lathe operator as opposed to a key punch operator or a medical researcher is to have an important clue to the characteristics of the family. In fact, the occupation of the primary breadwinner, together with the specific demands for time, energy, training, and education which that occupation places on him or her is probably one of the most important determinants of a family's pace, style, values, structure, and social reputation.

We rarely reflect carefully on the ways in which we "naturally" give priority to pressing occupational demands over family responsibilities. One example is the role of fathers in American families. There is a wide agreement that generally American fathers are further from the center of family life, especially the raising of children, than mothers. One explanation for this phenomenon proposed by Talcott Parsons[2], is that the father represents the point of articulation between the family and the wider community. He participates most fully in that wider community through his employment, and his major contribution to the task of socialization is to lead his children out into similar participation in that community, particularly to the successful performance of an occupational role. One view[1] is that given the prevalent organizational patterns in our society this is merely a household variety of "role differentiation" and, as such, an innocent fact of organized social life. A more critical view would be that the absence of the father from the home for most of the waking lives of his young children leaves the family seriously "skewed." For example, does a four-year old who regularly watches Daddy disappear to the office or store or plant, for eight or ten hours a day, appreciate the larger sociological significance of this act of apparent abandonment? If he were to experience this loss as basically unpleasant, he would be on good emotional ground, especially if no other adult male were consistently present. The literature on detrimental effects of the total absence of the father is considerable.[2] Unfortunately, the

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[1] See several articles in Reinhard Bendix and Seymour M. Lipset, eds., Class, Status, and Power (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 2nd ed., 1966).

[2] See Parsons and Bales, et al., Family, Socialization, and Interaction Process; and Talcott Parsons, Social Structure and Personality (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1964), especially Part I.

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[1] Parsons and Bales et al., Family, Socialization, Interaction Process: see especially the chapter by Morris Zelditch, Jr.

[2] See, for example:

George R. Bach, "Father-Fantasies and Father-Typing in Father Separated Children," Child Development, 17 (1946): 63-79; Pauline S. Sears, "Doll Play Aggression in Normal Young Children: Influence of Sex, Age, Sibling Status, Father's Absence," Psychological Monographs 65, no. 6 (1951): Whole No. 323; Robert R. Sears, Margaret H. Pintler, and Pauline S. Sears, "Effects of Father Separation on Preschool Children's Doll Play Aggression," Child Development 17 (1946): 219-243; Lois M. Stolz, Father Relations of War-born Children (Palo Alto, Cal.: Stanford University Press, 1954); Erik Gronseth, "The Impact of Father Absence in Sailor Families upon the Personality Structure and Social Adjustment of Adult Sailor Sons," Part I, in N. Anderson ed., Studies of the Family, 2 vols. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1957), II, 97-114; David B. Lynn and William L. Sawrey, "The Effects of Father-Absence on Norwegian Boys and Girls," Journal of Abnormal

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and Social Psychology 59 (1959): 258-262; Per O. Tiller, "Father Absence and Personality Development of Children in Sailor Families: A Preliminary Research Report," Part II, in Anderson, ed., *Studies of the Family*, II, 115-137, and "Father Separation and Adolescence" (Oslo: Institute for Social Research, 1961, mimeographed); Walter Mischel, "Father-Absence and Delay of Gratification: Cross-Cultural Comparison," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 68 (1961): 116-124; A. Barclay and D. R. Cusumano, "Father Absence, Cross-Sex-Sex Identity, and Field Dependent Behavior in Male Adolescents," *Child Development* 38 (1967): 243-250; Roger B. Burton and John W. M. Whiting, "The Absent Father and Cross-Sex Idnetity," *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly* 7 (1961): 85-95; C. Kuckenberg, "Effect of Early Father Absence on Scholastic Aptitude," unpublished doctoral dissertation, Harvard University, 1963.

effects of the "normal", i.e., occupationally-caused, absence of the father has been less well-studies.

Similarly, if a young child were to suspect that Mom is less fun to be around when Daddy is gone all day, every day, he would have a good deal of psychological literature on the mother-directed family to support him.[1] In general, fathers from all levels of the animal kingdom provide very little direct care for their own children. Mammalian fathers are rarely around at all, and primate fathers often provide physical protection but rarely contribute to the actual care of their children. Only wolves and humans seem to have persuaded their fathers to lend a hand in this area, with wolves by far the more consistent and reliable.[2] Lasting effect of the relative absence of the American father from the lives of young children has yet to be documented. Yet it is interesting to juxtapose the father's relative absence with an observation from a recent decade review of research on parent-child relationships:

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[1] For example, see S. H. King and A. F. Henry, "Aggression and Cardiovascular Reactions related to Parental Control over Behavior," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology 50 (1955): 206-214; J. A. Clausen and M. L. Kohn, "Social Relations and Schizophrenia: A Research Report and Perspective," in Don Jackson, ed., The Etiology of Schizophrenia (New York: Basic Books, 1960); Urie Bronfenbrenner, "Some Familial Antecedents of Responsibility and Leadership in Adolescents," in L. Petrullo and B. Bass, eds., Leadership and Interpersonal Behavior (New York:Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961); C. H. Scott, "Pattern of Child Adjustment," in O. E. Oeser and S. B. Hammond, eds., Social Structure and Family in a City (London: Rautledge, 1954); William A. Westley and Nathan B. Epstein, The Silent Majority (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Inc., 1970), especially Chap. 6; Philip E. Slater, The Pursuit of Loneliness (Boston: Beacon Press, 1970), especially Chap. 3, "Women and Children First."

[2] E. E. LeMasters, Parents in Modern America (Homewood, Ill.: The Dorsey Press, 1970), p. 144.

> The studies reviewed, concerning children's perceptions of parents, seem to converge in indicating that children perceive fathers as being more fear-arousing, more punitive, more restrictive, colder and less understanding than mothers. Such findings have implications and raise questions, concerning the socialization and expectations of the male in our society, particularly as a family member.[1]

This review also concluded that research on the family before the past decade had seriously underestimated the importance of the father *vis-à-vis* the mother in the socialization of children.[2]

Let us take another example of the "natural," everyday subordination of family priorities to economic priorities, once again using the case of the father's role in socialization. Although there is still serious debate among social scientists,[3] there seems to be some agreement that there are fundamental, social class differences in child rearing practices as well as in beliefs, attitudes, and values towards children and Social Class Through Time and Space," in Eleanor E. Maccoby, Theodore M. Newcomb, and Eugene L. Hartley, eds., Readings in Social Psychology (New York: Holt, 3rd ed., 1958); Allison Davis and Robert J. Havighurst, "Social Class and Color Differences in Child Rearing," American Sociological Review 11 (1946): 698-710; Robert J. Havighurst and Allison Davis, "A Comparison of the Chicago and Harvard Studies of Social Class Differences in Child Rearing," American Sociological Review 20 (1955): 438-442; Eleanor E. Maccoby, Patricia K. Gibbs et al., "Methods of Child Rearing in Two Social Classes," in William E. Martin and Celia B. Stendler, eds., Readings in Child Development (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1954); Robert R. Sears, Eleanor E. Maccoby, and Harry Levin, Patterns of Child Rearing (Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson, 1957); Martha S. White, "Social Class, Child Rearing Practices, and Child Behavior," American Sociological Review 22 (1957): 704-712; Donald G. McKinley, Social Class and Family Life (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1964); Melvin L. Kohn, "Social Class and Parent-Child Relationships: An Interpretation," American Journal of Sociology 68 (Jan. 1963): 471-480; __________, "Social Class and Parental Values," American Journal of Scoiology 64 (Jan. 1959): 337-351; __________, "Social Class and the Exercise of Parental Authority," American Sociological Review 24 (June 1959): 352-366; Melvin L. Kohn and Eleanor E. Carroll, "Social Class and the Allocation of Parental Responsibilities," Sociometry 23 (Dec. 1960): 372-392; Richard A. Littman, Robert C. A. Moore, and John Pierce-Jones, "Social Class Differences in Child Rearing: A Third Community for Comparison with Chicago and Newton," American Sociological Review 22 (Dec. 1957): 694-704; David F. Aberle and Kaspar D. Naegele, "Middle-Class Fathers' Occupational Role and Attitudes Toward Children," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry 22 (Apr. 1952): 366-378.

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[1] James Walter and Nick Stinnett, "Parent-Child Relationships: A Decade Review of Research," *The Journal of Marriage and the Family* 33, no. 1 (Feb. 1971): 96.

[2] Walter and Stinnett, *ibid*., pp. 100-102.

[3] For criticism of the hypothesis that there are fundamental class differences in early child-rearing practices, see William H. Sewell, "Social Class and Childhood Personality," *Sociometry* 24 (1961): 340-356; Urie Bonfenbrenner, "Socialization

and child rearing.[1] Several researchers have suggested that the sense of social class is grounded in one's experience of working conditions associated with an occupational role.[2] More interesting though is the view, now widely accepted, that these occupational experiences directly shape a parent's beliefs, attitudes, and values, as he or she brings up children. For example, in an early study Aberle and Naegele[3] observed that middle-class fathers oriented their socialization practices toward the type of occupational role they assumed their children would one day perform. That is, they would frequently evaluate the behavior of their sons to see if they exhibited the general character traits conducive to success in roles as businessmen or professionals. These character traits--in this case initiative, aggressiveness, competitivness, athletic ability, etc. -- are not necessarily traits essential to a warm and cooperative family life. Also, these fathers were unworried if their daughters failed to exhibit these aggressive qualities, since in their father's views girls would not be heading for the same occupational roles. What is important here is the commonplace observation that the character of occupational roles influences the qualities parents hope to instill in their children. The values underlying these qualities are often the values motivating economic activity. Since successful economic activity is necessary to survival, parents would be somewhat irresponsible if they did not prepare their children emotionally and characterologically for future roles. Yet when socialization practices are excessively oriented to existing or future occupational roles, attention to the kinds of attitudes, beliefs, values, and character traits characteristic of emotional health and maturity may be sacrificed. Given the importance of work in our society, we are tempted to answer that we cannot talk about "emotional health" or "maturity" apart from the successful performance of an occupational role. That it is so difficult to separate these issues is further evidence of how our dedication to economic tasks shapes our understanding of what it means to be a healthy individual in our society.

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[1] For a recent review of research, see Robert D. Hess, "Social Class and Ethnic Influences on Socialization" in Paul H. Mussen, ed., Carmichael's Manual of Child Psychology, Vol. 2 Part V (New York: John Wiley, 1970), Chap. 25, pp. 457-558.

[2] See the articles by Kohn, and Aberle and Naegele, cited in footnote 1, p. 2-12.

[3] Aberle and Naegele, "Middle-Class Fathers' Occupational Role."

B. The Isolation of Children from their Parents and Other Adults

Isolation is a familiar contemporary theme. In this context, however, we intend it in a social sense rather than a psychological sense. For we are interested in the patterns of social organization that systematically reduce or prohibit contact among individuals. Among the forms of isolation that are most relevant to an assessment of contempory American families are the following:

1. the isolation of wage-earners from spouses and children, caused by their absorption into the world of work;
2. the complementary isolation of young children from the occupational world of parents and other adults;
3. the general isolation of young children from persons of different ages, both adults and older children;
4. the residential isolation of families from persons of different social or ethnic, religious, or racial background;
5. the isolation of family members from kin and neighbors.

In a variety of ways, these forms of social isolation are an outgrowth not only of industrialization but of the process of suburbanization, especially in the period since World War II. The movement of many middle- and upper-income families out of the central cities, and to suburban communities, has increased the differentiation of residential and occupational zones within metropolitan areas. For some families, the distance has increased between the place of employment and the family home. This means that a visit by young children to their parents' place of employment requires a special trip, often by bus or car, often across town. The difficulty of such a trip is perhaps only slightly greater than a parent's difficulty in returning home during the day to spend time with the children during a coffee break or lunch hour. In either case, the result can be minimal contact between working parents and their children during the working day.

There are other forms of isolation common in suburbs, particularly the recently built, upper-middle-class suburban tracts. Many suburban homes are single-family dwellings resting on large parcels of land. The emphasis on space and privacy, institutionalized in local zoning by-laws, tends to reduce contact between neighbors. Similarly, families may be ecologically isolated from local schools, churches, parks, stores, and places of public meeting. The result is that suburban life can be barren, lonely, and dull, particularly for a mother with several young children. This is ironic since suburbanization was motivated in part by a desire to enhance family life,[1] as well as by the pursuit of space, quiet, privacy, and safety from contact with persons of different race, religion, class, or ethnic origin. The movement to the suburbs may in fact be viewed as having had the unintended effect of further fragmenting American family life and encouraging its devaluation. Families are also isolating themselves from previous community groups as generations move from blue-collar backgrounds to white-collar jobs and from ethnically oriented groups to middle-class suburban areas. Frequently the deeply rooted cultures which enabled them to function well are rejected for a new, rootless surface culture.

Finally, there is the isolation of members of the "nuclear" family from other kin, as a consequence of occupational and geographical mobility. This form of isolation is consistent with the high value we place on individualism in our society and there is much less contact between related family members than in earlier historical periods.[1] Whether this is experienced as good or bad by contemporary families, it is evidence of the structural isolation of the family from its traditional network of social supports.

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[1] This is the hypothesis of Wendell Bell, "Familism and Suburbanization: One Test of the Social Choice Hypothesis," Rural Sociology 21 (Sept.-Dec. 1956): 276-283, reprinted in John N. Edwards, The Family and Change.

Of all the forms of social isolation mentioned above, the one caused by deliberate age segregation is perhaps the most susceptible to change. Segregation of the population according to age is a striking feature of contemporary American society. Increasingly, our institutionalized patterns of social activity guarantee that the elderly spend most of their lives with the elderly, the middle-aged with the middle-aged, young marrieds with other young marrieds, singles with singles, adolescents with other adolescents, and school children with other school children. The primary public institution that promotes the segregation of children is our public school system. But beyond that, our private clubs and voluntary organizations offer programs oriented toward specific age groups, and the few organizations that are accessible to families as a unit, for example religious institutions, usually provide highly specialized programs to suit different age ranges. Once again, an analysis of the reasons for this trend toward age segregation reveals the central importance of occupational success as a preoccupation of adults and as a goal of childhood socialization.[2]

For example, many adults, and especially male adults, now spend their working lives with other adults as they perform their occupational roles. The formalization and standardization of education and job training increases the likelihood that adults at the same point in the pursuit of a career will be of roughly the same age. Second, the emphasis in our society on occupational success as a measure of personal worth encourages the segregation of children into schooling and training institutions that are frequent paths to occupational achievement.

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[1] See especially the articles cited earlier in footnote 3, p. 2-2.

[2] Parsons, Social Structure and Personality, especially chapters 6, 7, 8.

Here too, the rationalization and standardization of the schooling process further segregates children into "grades," thereby reducing their contact with older and younger children as well as with adults. The segregation of children by age, as a rough measure of their level of educational achievement, makes more manageable the primary task assumed by the public school system, viz., to differentiate among students according to ability and to select out the more gifted for higher status occupations and to direct the less gifted toward lower status occupations.[1]

The segregation of children from adults has a number of serious consequences, recently described by Bronfenbrenner[2] among others, as having a crucial bearing on the outlook for American families. Briefly stated, these consequences are the following:

- Parents are discouraged from becoming involved in major aspects of their children's lives.
- Both young children, and youth are growing up without the benefit of a variety of adult role models.
- Children are becoming increasingly ignorant about the world of paid work.
- Parents are increasingly replaced by three other socializing agents: the schools, the peer group, and the mass media.

In pointing out the potentially serious consequences of age segregation, particularly that of parents and children, we are not claiming that for every family more contact between family members would necessarily lead to better relationships. Time seems to be a necessary but not sufficient condition for forming productive relationships between adults and children. The first question is whether, given the powerful disincentives to contacts between adults and children created by our institutional patterns, they have even the minimum amount of time necessary to form significant relationships. We tend to believe that in many families they do not, and that only by removing the disincentives to such contacts can we move on to consider the other elements of a good relationship. Were we to alter our institutional patterns to build in time for adults and children to be together, we would probably find that some families did not immediately take advantage of it. In some families, minimal contact has become an unfortunate but now all but necessary *modus vivendi* for parents and children. In *other* families we would probably find that both adult members and children require substantial time away from one another and that increased contact, especially if it were motivated by guilt, would only harm the relationship. In some families, we would probably find that members needed to be "re-educated" about the ways in which they can spend time together enjoyably and profitably. And in all families, we would probably find that the quality of relationships between adults and children depends on continued growth and development not only of the children but also of the adults.

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[1] Parsons, ibid., p. 148.

[2] Urie Bronfenbrenner, Two Worlds of Childhood (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1970).

C. The Increasing Influence of Other Social Institutions on Children

Since decreasing priority is given to families by parents, relative to other responsibilities, and since children are increasingly segregated into age groups, other socializing processes have begun to have more influence over children. Such influences come from (1) peer groups of similar agemates in which a child spends a substantial part of his day; (2) mass media, particular television for younger children; (3) child care specialists who are increasingly professionalizing "parenting," and providing it as a purchasable service; (4) government, which is increasingly assuming a greater role in the nurture and socialization functions of the family through child care programs and the schools.

The Influence of the Peer Group

Most parents are aware of the fact that their children are powerfully influenced by the tastes and values of their peers. Sociologists have documented this influence but have often disagreed about its implication for family life. Reisman's The Lonely Crowd[1] viewed with apprehension the power of the child's peer group to socialize tastes. A major study of adolescence by James S. Coleman confirmed the impact of the peer group and drew similar conclusions about its implications for the adolescent's family:

> The adolescent lives more and more in a society of his own; he finds the family a less and less satisfying psychological home. As a consequence, the home has less and less ability to mold him.[2]

By contrast, Talcott Parsons has taken a more approving view,[3] pointing out the crucial importance of the adolescent peer group in providing emotional support for a youth in the difficult transition from childhood dependency to adult independence. Recent empirical studies have tried to sort out the relative influence of parents and peers. One finding from a study on adolescent girls indicated that peer influence is greater than that of parents if parents take no strong position on an issue, or if the issue is unimportant to both peers and parents.[4] Other studies have suggested that the peer group can serve as a needed corrective to unhealthy family relationships,[1] in this way performing the function once performed by related adults in the extended family. Other empirical studies support the Reisman line of analysis, however. For example, it is a consistent finding that independence training and orientation of the child toward his peer group comes earlier in an American child's life than in the lives of children from several other cultures.[2] A comparative study of Vietnamese and American children in 1963[3] observed that American children were less influenced by or obligated to their parents, were more selfish and materialistic, and had more unrealistic fears. The hypothesis offered was that too much stress on autonomy and independence, as well as too much separation from adults, produced children noticeably self-centered in their relationships with others. It is also striking that the review of research on parent-child relationships noted the following areas of convergence among research findings:[1]

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[1] David Reisman, with Nathan Glazer and Rauel Denney, The Lonely Crowd (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950).

[2] James S. Coleman, The Adolescent Society (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1961), p. 312.

[3] Parsons, Social Structure and Personality, Chapter 7, "Youth in the Context of American Society."

[4] Clay V. Brittain, "An Exploration of the basis of peer compliance and parental compliance in adolescents" Adolescence 2 (1967): 445-458.

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[1] David P. Ausubel, *Theory and Problems of Child Development* (New York: Grune and Stratton, 1958); Brian Sutton-Smith, John M. Roberts, and B. G. Rosenberg, "Sibling Associations and Role Involvement," *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly* 10 (1964): 25-38.

[2] Leonore Boehm, "The Development of Independence; A Comparative Study," *Child Development* 28 (1958): 85-92; Geroge M. Guthrie and Pepita Jimenez Jacobs, *Child Rearing and Personality Development in the Philippines* (Pennsylvania State University Press, 1966); Exra F. Vogel and Suzanne H. Vogel, "Family Security, Personal Immaturity, and Emotional Health in a Japanese Sample," *Marriage and Family Living* 23 (1961): 161-166.

[3] Mary M. Leichty, "Family Attitudes and Self Concept in Vietnames and U.S. Children," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* 33 (1963): 38-50.

- Children who exercise power over their parents tend to be insensitive to the needs of others.
- Role learning is increasingly being taught by the peer group.
- Outside of the schools, there is too little contact between children and adults.
- The push for autonomy and independence quite early in a child's life may be detrimental in the long run.

Finally, Bronfenbrenner[2] makes two important observations about peer vs. parental influence on children. The first is that there is evidence to suggest that children who are characterized as "peer-oriented" also seem to be fundamentally dissatisfied with their experience in their own families. The second is that the American child's peer group is often strikingly indifferent to or antagonistic toward adult norms, values, and expectations. The Soviet example, by contrast, is one of the peer group's reinforcement of adult standards. Though the characterizations of peer groups in both societies may be overdrawn, the point remains: The natural influence of peers on a child can be shaped to a variety of ends. Thus the issue, as Neil Smelser has put it,[3] is perhaps not so much the decline of parental authority or influence but the discontinuity between parental authority and other authorities to which children and youth now respond.

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[1] Walters and Stinnett, "Parent-Child Relationships," pp. 100-102.

[2] Bronfenbrenner, Two Worlds of Childhood.

[3] Neil J. Smesler, "The Social Challenge to Parental Authority," in Seymour M. Farber, Piero Mustacchi, and Roger H. L. Wilson, eds., The Family's Search For Survival (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1965), p. 71.

The Influence of Mass Media

One voice that speaks with authority to children and youth is the voice of the mass media, especially television. What the voice of television is saying to children and what impact it is having is not yet entirely clear.[1] What _is_ clear is that American adults and children spend an enormous amount of free time within the home watching television 27 hours a week according to the Nielsen TV Index (Winter 1970). One undeniable effect is that parents and children silently watch television sets (for the affluent, separate television sets) during time when they might be interacting directly. One thing disturbing, then, is not only what television may produce in the behavior of children and parents but also what it prevents.[2] In addition, much of television programing dealing with families and family settings promotes a simplistic and distorted view of what people are like, how they live together in families, and the ways in which they deal with emotional issues that arise among them. Finally there is the issue of advertising, whether on television, radio, or in the print media. A considerable amount of advertising directed at family markets now uses family members as models to sell products to other family members. For example, advertisements now commonly portray a child urging Mom or Dad to purchase a certain product as an indication of parental caring or love. This exploitation of children and parents to sell consumer goods results in a highly distorted picture of the nature of parent-child relationships and of the meaning of such emotions as caring, nurturance, trust, sacrifice, etc.

Parents who are concenred about the content of television programing or of national magazines reaching them and their children are in a difficult position. Since the mass media are national in scope and depend on national markets, they appear beyond the control or even influence of local parents. Here again is an example of the fundamental discontinuity between parental influence and the influence of other powerful socializing institutions.

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[1] See, for example: Wilbur Schramm, Jack Lyle, and Edwin B. Parker, _Television in the Lives of Our Children_ (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1961).

[2] Report of Forum 15: White House Conference on Children.

The "Professionalization" of Parenthood and Child Rearing

It has been observed in the past decade[1] that the sources of information about parenthood and child rearing are changing. Whereas in the past a grandparent or older relative may have been the primary source of information, now both parents have available to them books, magazine articles, newspaper advice columns, leaflets and pamphlets, lectures, demonstrations, films, radio talk shows, and television programs, all dealing with the issues of parenthood and child rearing. In turn, the materials prepared by these various sources rely increasingly on "expert" opinion, or at least on the views of persons who regard themselves as "specialists" in these areas. In the past, the expertise involved may have been questionable, as suggested by the radical shifts in child rearing advice offered from decade to decade.[2] Nevertheless, there seems to be a growing interest, especially among young, college educated couples, in more reliable information about child development and about the effects of various child rearing practices.[3] The growing belief that good child rearing should be based in part on accurate technical information, and may involve specialized skills, may represent a "professionalization" of the parental role. The conferring of "professional" status on the parents of young children is perhaps only part of the larger tendency to view the socialization of children as a highly specialized social function, which in turn can only be entrusted to specialists and specialized institutions.

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[1] Reuben Hill, "The American Family Today" in Eli Ginsburg, ed., The Nation's Children Vol. I (1960 White House Conference on Children and Youth), pp. 95-96; D. R. Miller and Guy E. Swanson, The Changing American Parent (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1958).

[2] Martha Wolfenstein, "Trends in Infant Care," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry 23 (Jan. 1953): 120-130.

[3] Reuben Hill in Ginsburg, ed., The Nation's Children, p. 97.

The Increasing Role of Schools and Other Government Agencies

In addition to the family, the main institution charged with the task of socialization is the public school system. Given the emphasis in our society on occupational achievement, the public school system has functioned increasingly as a certifier of satisfactory progress toward socialization and occupational success. As this formal certification becomes more important as a ticket of admission to certain occupational and social strata, there is a greater potential for parents to feel superfluous or like obstacles to their children's social mobility.[1] As a result, many parents have turned over the education of their children almost entirely to the public school system. Given the present direction, there is a danger that parents will also relinquish their roles in the social and moral development of their children to the certified "experts." The prospect of a federally financed system of child care in the coming decade only increases the danger that parents, especially low-income parents or working mothers, will be persuaded to transfer their child rearing responsibilities to specialized institutions even earlier in their child's life, beginning at age two rather than at age five or six. Nevertheless, the belief that child rearing involves skills and requires competance can lead in either of two directions: It can enhance the parental role and support adults in it, or it can persuade adults that child rearing is too hazardous, complex, and important to be entrusted to parents.

One of our major concerns is to ensure that any state effort in child care make resources available to families in such a way that they reinforce and enhance adults in their parental roles rather than supplant or devaluate them.

All these major socializing processes--the peer group, the mass media, child care "experts," and government agencies--are having an increasing impact on children. These influences are not good or bad in themselves, just as all parental involvement is not necessarily good. At the moment, however, we know very little about the effects of such things as age stratification, television, or the professionalization of child care. In addition, more often than not individual parents have little to say about the kinds of experiences their children have out of the home, and even in it. Thus, given the impact on children's lives which these extra-familial influences have, it becomes an urgent matter for parents and the general public to know what effects these processes have on their children and to ensure that these socializing processes are responsive to parents so that they may have meaningful choices about what happens to them and their children.

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[1] Parsons, Social Structure and Personality, Chaps. 6 and 7.

D. Alternative Views of Family Life

Before leaving our assessment of family life at this point, we should take note of some views of family life now prevalent among a segment of our youth, particularly those youth and young adults whose middle-class upbringing has left them economically and educationally secure enough to risk identification with the "counter-culture." Reliable information about the values and attitudes of these young people is difficult to obtain; nevertheless there are some striking indications that many of them are aware of and concerned about the problems in contemporary family life which we have presented. For example, two identifiable motifs within the "counter-culture" are (a)the rejection of occupational success as the most important measure of personal worth, and (b) the search for functional equivalents of the extended family. Both of these interests, if they continue to spread among the younger generation, could have considerable influence on the character of future families. In both cases, they represent a reaction to an unusual period in the history of the family, a period in which the family's prominence has been severely eroded and in which the family has been made even smaller and more isolated than in prior periods of American history.[1] For example, in reaction to the dominance of families by our occupations, there are attempts to redistribute the burden of earning a living more equitably between parents, with both parents holding part-time or less demanding jobs so that they are more free to share the responsibilities of housekeeping and child rearing. There is an attempt by young fathers to involve themselves significantly in the lives of their children. There are attempts to bring young children, even infants, back directly into the work setting of their parents. Similarly, the recent interest in communal living represents the reintroduction of adults other than parents into the daily lives of young children. These mediating adults function as grandparents, aunts, and uncles did, when members of the extended family shared a single residence or lived nearby. (One problem with contemporary communes is, however, that often the adults involved are of the same generation, so that children are not exposed to persons of several different generations.) Despite their limitations and problems, we are inclined to regard these cultural changes as for the most part sincere and responsible efforts to deal with the debilitating pressures on family life in our society. Whether one regards these alternative family patterns as desirable or not, we must acknowledge that at present very little is known about their long-term consequences. We do not know, for example, what the long-term effects of communal living arrangements are on the stability of children. We have no reason to believe that these options will be severely damaging to conventional family life, nor can we assert that they represent an optimal solution to the problems enumerated earlier. As a result, we strongly urge that any governmental policy regarding families not foreclose the emergence of these options, or use the force of law to buttress any one pattern of family living. What is needed instead is patience and tolerance until the long-term consequences of these newly emerging options can be fairly evaluated.

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[1] cf. Frank F. Furstenberg, "Industrialization and the American Family: A Look Backward," in John N. Edwards, The Family and Change (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1969), pp. 50-69.

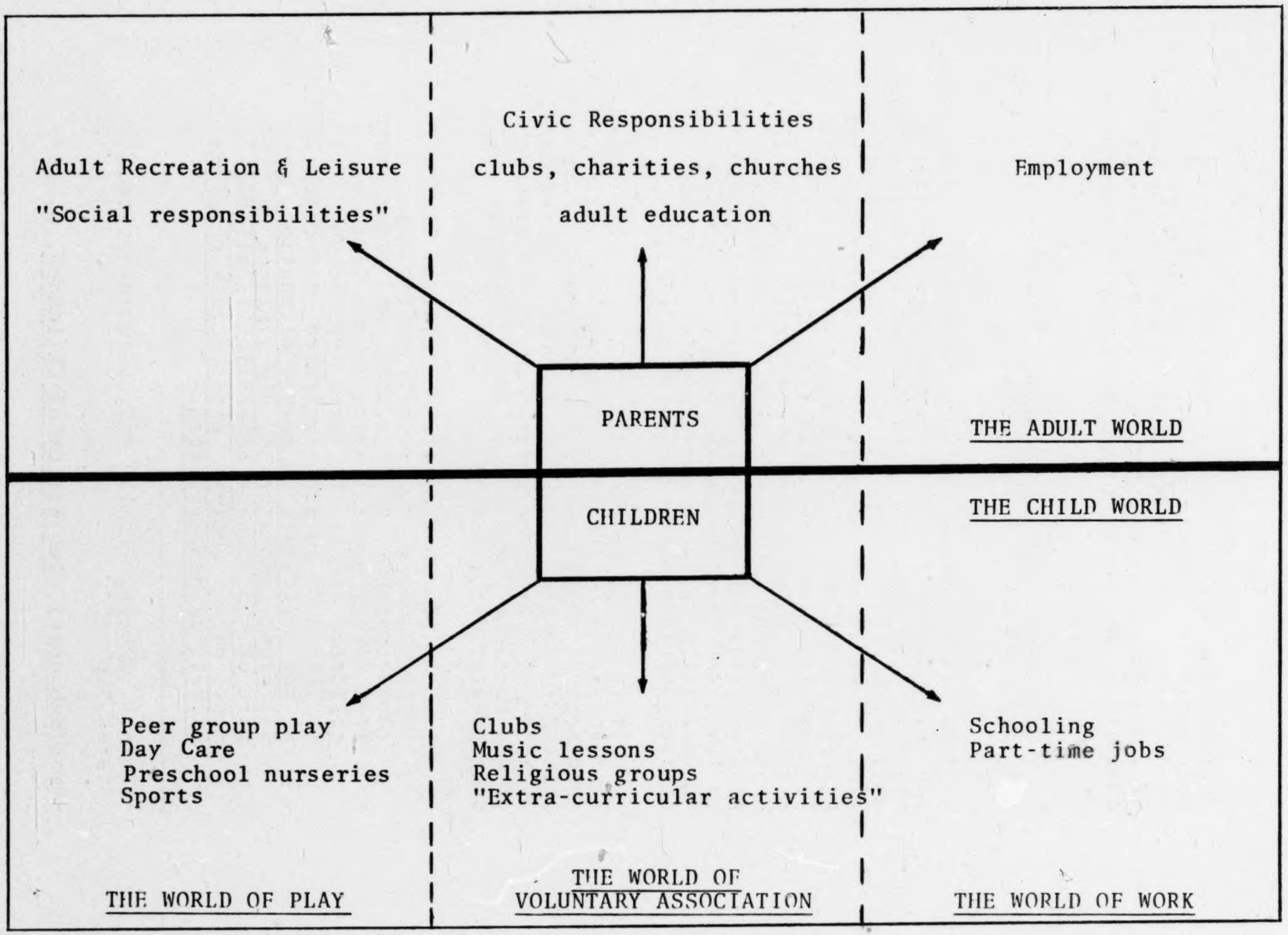
E. Summary: Children, Parents, and Families Come Last

How well, then are our families doing in their crucial task of caring for young children? Our answer must be that they are doing remarkably well, considering the changes which are occurring in society. For on nearly every side we find that children, parents, and families come last. In our assessment of the status of families in our society we have made the following observations:

- In the process of social and economic change, the family is most often the dependent variable; as a result, we characteristically subordinate family responsibilities to occupational responsibilities.
- Adults and children spend less and less time together because our major economic and educational institutions are age-segregated.
- Parents are poorly supported in their parental roles and must compete with the peer group and mass media for influence on their own children.
- The tendency to "professionalize" the parental role and the child rearing tasks threatens to further devaluate parents and to supplant them by child rearing "experts."

What this means is that the dominant forces exerted on family members are centrifugal rather than centripetal, driving them away from family roles rather than toward them. The figure on page 2-29 represents schematically these centrifugal forces. The forces exerted on children pull them primarily toward the age-segregated world of children, while those exerted on adults pull them toward the age-segregated world of adults. The adult areas of work, voluntary association, and play have their age-segregated counterparts for children. With the possible exception of recreation for some families, parents, and children rarely work together, participate in organizations together, or play together as a family. This is because there is now a basic discontinuity between our roles as family members and our roles as employees, club members, and Sunday golfers. If we are to reintegrate family roles with the rest of our lives we must find ways to make the institutions that

CENTRIFUGAL FORCES EXPERIENCED BY THE FAMILY


Adult Recreation & Leisure
"Social responsibilities"
Civic Responsibilities
clubs, charities, churches
adult education
Employment
PARENTS
THE ADULT WORLD
CHILDREN
THE CHILD WORLD
Peer group play
Day Care
Preschool nurseries
Sports
Clubs
Music lessons
Religious groups
"Extra-curricular activities"
Schooling
Part-time jobs
THE WORLD OF PLAY
THE WORLD OF VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION
THE WORLD OF WORK

dominate the world of work, education, and play responsive to families as well as to individuals. It has often been assumed that by serving the needs of individuals, we would also serve the needs of families.[1] We can no longer make that assumption.

III. TOWARD A SOCIAL POLICY FOR FAMILIES: GUIDELINES AND RECOMMENDATIONS

We have examined the core functions of families and have considered the pressures upon the family which are changing it. Some changes may have little detrimental effect upon the core function of providing a nurturant environment for children. Some may be beneficial. Other changes seem to be eroding the core functions of the family, leading to a weakening of kinship ties and shifting much of the basic nurturant socialization to extrafamilial, predominantly age-segregated groups, which tend to be large and impersonal. We have concentrated our attention on those changes which seem most challenging to present family structures.

It is our judgement that at this point in time most Americans are unready to accept the full consequences of the socialization patterns we have allowed to develop in recent decades. Furthermore, we agree with Bronfenbrenner that if the present trends continue families can look forward to even greater difficulties:

> If the current trend persists, if the institutions of our society continue to remove parents, other adults, and older youth from active participation in the lives of children, and if the resulting vacuum is filled by an age-segregated peer group, we can anticipate increased alienation, indifference, antagonism, and violence on the part of the younger generation in all segments of our society--middle-class children as well as disadvantaged.[2]

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[1] Alvin L. Schorr, "Family Policy in the United States," p. 457.

[2] Bronfenbrenner, Two Worlds of Childhood, p. 117.

The implication is clear: Basic institutional patterns impinging on the family must change if we are to avoid the grim future envisioned above.

As will be seen in the balance of this report, we strongly support groups and programs which supplement the family, temporarily fulfilling certain core family functions or permanently providing support to the family in its functioning. Nevertheless, we are quite concerned that the core nurturant function of the family not be eroded, and we see a critical need for increased support of families in our society.

By families we do not necessarily mean the nuclear family of father, mother, and their children. Many different family structures are workable, and alternative family patterns which seem to fulfill the core nurturant function for their children should be at least permitted, if not encouraged.

We cannot expect to return to previous family patterns, and most of us would not want to. Despite the many desirable features of earlier middle-class American family life as it is often portrayed, and despite the fact that for so many persons it seems to have fulfilled the core nurturant funciton fairly well, there are many other features of the nuclear and extended families which are not desirable. The fixed role expectations for the mother and father, the large number of children, often unwanted, the permanence of the marriage bond regardless of the effects of the marriage upon the well-being of the family members are all common features of past and present family life which most persons would not want.

Likewise, we cannot expect to eliminate the importance of economic considerations in the society and the predominance which they are likely to have in the future. A social policy for families must be developed within the context of these factors, modifying their negative effects upon families.

We can, however, develop social and economic policies which strengthen families and which lead toward social settings in which children and adults thrive.

A. Guidelines for the Development of Families

Taking into account the social forces on the family which we have earlier examined, we propose the following guidelines for the development of families as not only desirable but also feasible and consistent with many of the present social trends. If implemented, they would both strengthen the functioning of families and facilitate the evolution of the structures of families.

1. The relationship between the father and mother should increasingly involve mutually acceptable arrangements concerning their roles and responsibilities, with increasing mixing of their traditional roles.

2. The number of children in families should increasingly be the result of decisions and commitments by parents to provide nurturant socialization to each child. Given the pressures pulling families apart, parents should not have children they do not want.

3. There should be increased development of families with an enlarged kinship group, base primarily on social and psychological commitments rather than primarily on biological history. While the particular patterns which might evolve are not clear, some modern version of the extended family as an option to the current isolated nuclear family, is needed.

4. There should be an increased acceptance of changes in the roles of kinship group members, including different family, marriage, and divorce patterns, provided that the basic nurturant needs of the children are continuously met. So long as there is a small and continuous kinship group which provides for the children, we should be willing to accept a wide range of family structures which are adaptive to the other needs and desires of its members.

5. There should be increased interdependency among members of the kinship group so that their life careers are mutually contingent and supportive. One reason for the recent emphasis upon "community" cohesion and closeness is that these basic needs are often not adequately met within the family setting. Unfortunately, most "communities" are much too large, diverse, and impersonal for them to fulfill these needs adequately.

These guidelines seem not only desirable but also feasible and consistent with many of the present social trends which we have identified. They would lead to a strengthening of families without forcing us into past forms which have lost their viability.

How are these changes to come about? Individual parents in their roles as parents are not likely to have a great direct impact on changing social policies. As Bronfenbrenner has pointed out:

> Even though the lack of parental involvement lies at the heart of our present malaise, parents by themselves can do little to bring about the needed change.[1]

Parents in their role as parents may not be the most important instruments of change. But parents in their roles as employers, teachers, advertisers, politicians, etc. can have an enormous impact on the status of family life.

The enemy of family life is not other people; it is ourselves in all our roles. Thus, to improve the quality of family life we must mobilize the institutions which we participate in, support, and pay for in our daily lives. This means changing the businesses and corporations, which in employing us keep us from our families, and changing the laws which provide business with incentives to disregard families. It means changing the public school system that we support through our taxes and to which we send our children. It means changing the public and private organizations which separate adults and children. It also means directing government and regulatory agencies and the legislature to provide incentives for public and private institutions that give families greater priority.

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[1] Bronfenbrenner, ibid., p. 152.

B. Outstanding Issues Concerning Families

The social and legal issues concerning families and children are difficult and complex. Many of the laws concerning families are unwritten, in common law form for which there are no statutes, and there is need for substantial long-term efforts in this area.[1] It is beyond the scope of this study to develop the detailed recommendations for action to support families that are needed. Thus instead we have limited ourselves to identifying four sets of issues which need careful attention: employment practices, the role of public and non-profit organizations, public schools and mass media, and alternative family arrangements.

Employment Practices

A thorough review of the effects of employment practices upon children and family life is needed. A major conclusion of the 1970 White House Conference on Children was that "more than any other institution in our society, it is American business and industry that will determine the fate of the American family and the American child." We concur fully, and for this reason we have given first priority to our recommendations to Massachusetts employers.

Our work lives outside the home have a massive impact on our family lives. What is as disturbing as the extent of that impact, however, is the fact that it is largely unintended, unplanned, and unassessed. A first and minimal step then is for Massachusetts employers and employees to assess the impact of their policies and practices on family lives, their fellow workers, their neighbors, and the public in general. The following issues need careful examination.

1. The impact on family life of:
   - work schedules, vacation rules, evening, weekend, and out-of-town obligations on employees;
   - employment-related "social" obligations;
   - age-graded social and recreational activities provided for employees;
   - advertising policies and practices which are directed at child and family markets;
   - general management planning of the corporation, especially plans for plant relocation, transfer of employees, retraining of employees, etc.
2. The feasibility and desirability of providing:
   - flexible work schedules which allow an employee time for recurrent or unexpected family responsibilities, including parental leave for the birth of children and participation in daily child care arrangements;
   - child care facilities near the locus of employment which would be available to employees' children and open to employee participation during the working day;
   - apprentice programs for older children and youth, especially the unemployed, or underemployed, through which they could have contact

with adults in their occupational roles;

- part-time employment without discrimination for any employee or potential employee who wants to devote a larger part of his day to family responsibilities.

Consideration should be given to developing legislative proposals of the following kind:

- the provision of tax incentives or direct subsidies to businesses and corporations in Massachusetts which cooperate with the proposed Department for Child Development and meet Department guidelines for changes in policies and practices affecting family life;
- a "Fair Part-Time Employment Practices Act" which would generally prohibit discrimination in job opportunity, "fringe benefits," or income for persons with family responsibilities who desired part-time employment;
- the revision of child labor laws to eliminate restrictions which unnecessarily exclude children and youth from the out-of-home, working world of adults.
- the provision of low-cost insurance to cover liability for employers who wish to develop programs for acquainting children with the world of work or apprentice programs for older children and youth.

Public and nonprofit organizations.

The segregation of young children from adults is accomplished in a variety of ways: "Adult" institutions, organizations, or settings exclude children by not providing adequate facilities to accommodate them. "Adult" institutions, organizations, and settings also exclude children by providing "separate but equal" accommodations that are nevertheless discreetly removed from the important events.

Adults establish specialized institutions and organizations for children that ensure that children will be fully occupied and removed from the locus of adult activity. The public school system is a prime example of such an institution, though many children's organizations perform the same social function. To reverse the segregation of children by these institutions would require that parents, teachers, and school administrators become convinced that contact with the working world is an essential part of a child's education and that the consequences of cutting children off from the working lives of adults can be harmful.

Accordingly, consideration should be given to ways to bring children and adults, especially their parents, together in meaningful activities. Facilities for children and for the joint use of children should be systematically built into the planning of public facilities. Organizations should develop ways systematically to involve youth and children meaningfully in the occupational lives of the adults in their organization.

Public schools and mass media

We have argued that our system of schooling contributes indirectly to the relative lack of parental influence, by separating children from their parents for such a large portion of the day. We are deeply concerned about this consequence of our public school system and concerned lest the growing interest in "early childhood education" become the occasion for simply extending down into the earliest years of a child's life a system that separates parents and children. What is needed instead is, first, to increase the direct participation of parents in the care and education of their young children and, second, to assist parents in making use of individuals and organizations specializing in child development without being supplanted by them. In keeping with these two related objectives, we need further development of:

- guidelines for the increased, direct participation of parents in the policymaking and actual operation of local public schools and neighborhood child care programs;

- assistance to local school systems and child care programs in revising curricula to make contact with parents and other adults a major component of the education offered;

- courses for children and youth in child development and especially courses for high school students in the dynamics of marital, parental, and family relationships;

- programs to utilize older children in the education of younger children, as for example, programs by Brookline and Newton public schools in child care for high school students;

- apprentice programs combining both work experience and academic study in areas of occupational interest to college-bound students as well as to students going directly to work after high school;

- pilot projects in Massachusetts involving "schools without walls" (such as the Parkway School in Philadelphia or the Metro School in Chicago) that make involvement with adults in their occupational settings, as well as involvement with community organizations and institutions, the center of their students' education;

- family-oriented courses of interest to both children and parents which might utilize parental expertise, such as courses in consumer education, sex education, auto repair, and handicrafts;

- efforts to utilize and influence mass media for the strengthening of families. The influence of mass media and ways to use it in education about children and parenthood should be better understood. Television can be extremely useful both as a means of public education and as entertainment, and consideration should be given to ways in which parents and children can themselves have meaningful choices over what they see and how they use the media. The use of self-made and self-run films, video cassettes, and audio recordings has just begun to be explored and has far-reaching potential.

Alternative family arrangements

Contemporary families find themselves effectively cut off from persons who can function as intermediaries in the difficult process of living together. Whereas in earlier periods a child at odds with his parents could take his problem to a sympathetic grandparent or cousin, contemporary children are increasingly restricted to their own immediate families for significant contact with adults. The isolation of family from family, which is characteristic of suburban communities, makes such contact even more difficult. When the child in question is an adolescent, and when the issue is drugs or sex or hours or life styles, the lack of competent and trusted intermediaries can be critical. Alternative residential institutions have had to be developed to provide intimate contact between young people and interested adults other than their parents. This intervention by adults, and often by adolescent peers, raises difficult psychological, moral, and legal questions. For although as a society we undermine the family in many ways, nevertheless we often regard the nuclear family as the only appropriate "family structure." We grant to parents legal powers over children that we would rarely grant any person over another and various forms of financial advantages (e.g., tax deductions). As a result, persons seeking to intervene in family difficulties have very little legal power and fewer resources.

In addition, with the growing trend toward unmarried couples "living together" and toward communal living involving several couples, single individuals, and children, we find that existing laws not intended to regulate family patterns tend to have the effect of fostering only one view of family life for all segments of the population. Thus legal safeguards should be developed to protect individuals whose family style is unconventional, but who nevertheless make adequate provision for the continued care and nurturance of children.

Development of legislation of the following kinds should be considered.

- the revision of state and local statutes prohibiting or hindering the establishment of residential programs that seek to provide a temporary family setting for individuals, especially minor children, who are unable to live with their own families;
- the revision of state and local statutes (for example, tax laws) that hinder groups of adults and children from establishing alternative, responsible residential arrangements.

Alternative family arrangements and their effects on children should be given thoughtful study by the Commission as by other interested groups such as regional mental health associations. Massachusetts should take the lead, moreover, in supporting long-term, scholarly studies in this area.

C. Summary

In summary, any consideration of child care and early education must begin with families, their basic functions, the changes which are occurring in and around them, and the effects which new social programs are likely to have upon them. We have concluded that there are strong pressures pulling the family in new directions and into new shapes. Some of the changes may be beneficial for children and adults alike. Others seem to reduce the effectiveness of the family as the basic kinship group which provides nurturant socialization for children.

Since effective family structures are essential to the continuance of any society, it is urgent for us now to develop and implement social policies which support rather than undermine families. Only in this context can child care and early education be meaningfully considered.

CHAPTER THREE

CURRENT CHILD CARE PRACTICES, NEEDS AND HOPES

I. THE "NEED" FOR CHILD CARE: CONCEPT AND DEFINITION

The issue of the "need for child care" continues to involve--and vex--persons concerned with the well-being of our children and families. Definitions of need seem to rest on three variables:

- the actual conditions of children, women and men in the society, and accurate data about these conditions;
- personal and public awareness and understanding of these living conditions; and
- the importance, or priorities given by the public (and its experts and decision-makers), to questions of child care and families, compared to the importance of other national and local issues.

In recent years and months the amount and quality of the data on living conditions of families and young children has sharply increased. Personal and public understanding has deepened. Young children and families may yet receive higher priority by the nation's decision-makers. In this chapter we seek to contribute to the data--and understanding--of current child care in Massachusetts families with young children.

Discussion of needs implies that conditions are not as some feel they should be. Some people define a need as that which is intolerable; others see need as "conditions which are undesirable." This distinction is important: To convince some persons of a need for child care, one must show them that current life realities are abhorrent, destructive, intolerable; to convince others of a need it is necessary to point out that conditions are not as desirable as they might otherwise be. Personal definitions of "intolerable" and "desirable" vary enormously. For one person, as long as a child is physically cared for by some adult, the situation is tolerable; for another, any arrangement is intolerable until the family feels it has a range of acceptable options for their child care.

Other aspects of determination and definition of "need" are the projected ends and benefits from activity that meets needs. How much do needs for child care relate solely or mainly to children, and how much to parents and families? Is the basic goal of child care services and assistance to enhance the first few years of development of young children, or to help parents in their child-rearing--thereby aiding families to live happier, more productive lives? Defining needs mainly in terms of young children produces interpretation of data and policy implications that vary considerably from a more family-centered definition. Choice is often presented as either child care services and support as ends in themselves or as a path toward family development and happiness. Of course, these questions are never "either/or"; and program, policy, or definition embodies both needs of children and needs of families. But the particular blend or emphasis in the formulation of need can make major differences in the lives of children and their parents.

A. Who Defines the "Need for Child Care"?

How is knowledge of the living conditions of children and their families turned into society's determination of need? There seem to be at least three groups of persons who contribute to the definition of need:

- parents and children, who by their words and behavior make others aware of what they feel they want and need (parents speak out, leave children alone, struggle to find the money for food, clothing and shelter);
- experts and decision-makers, who suggest social priorities to the public (by the time and intensity they devote to questions

involving child-rearing and family life, by studies of child care, and by their statements on the importance of early childhood. For instance, President Nixon's February, 1969 message on children and the 1970 White House Conference on Children have opened public eyes to the life situations of many American parents and children); and

- the general public, who through opinion polls, letters to public officials, and voting, manifest concern or lack of concern for families and children.

B. What are Some of the Definitions of "Need for Child Care"?

In the forthcoming book on the need for child care by the National Council of Jewish Women, its authors analyze present child care arrangements made by the 15 per cent of the labor force who must have such arrangements in order to work outside the home.[1] Many arrangements--including child care in thousands of centers and homes--are defined as undesirable and damaging. The report is quite formal, but its burden is anguishing; "children in need" are found to number in the millions.

Two prominent development specialists[2] addressing the question of "need" concentrated first on the needs of children of single parents and of parents who rarely see each other, as a consequence of working outside the home on staggered hours. Nearly all such children and families are considered by these experts to be

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[1] Throughout this chapter, although it is imprecise, the term "work outside the home" will be used as a short-hand for "work paid by an employer or by clients." Speaking accurately, all mothers work, whether in or out of the home, paid or unpaid. The term, "working mothers," is therefore rather inappropriate.

[2] Urie Bronfenbrenner and Jerome Bruner, The New York Times, January 31, 1972, "op. ed." page.

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in need of some sort of support. "Children in need" under this definition are also found to number in the millions.

Many people feel that all the children living with rats and lead poisoning, those who are severely malnourished, and those who are regularly left alone while their parents work are in critical need. Other observers include in "need" those children who are seriously abused by their caretakers. The number of American children aged 0-6 living in all such conditions of gross physical and psychic abuse exceeds two million by any conservative estimate. Four million probably comes closer to the truth. (For Massachusetts this means at least 35,000-70,000 young children.) Almost a sixth of our 21 million 0-6-year-olds live in poverty; another sixth in "near poverty." How many families with poverty and near-poverty incomes can altogether avoid abusive situations for their children?

In this chapter we suggest adoption of a simple far-reaching definition of need for child care: families who feel they need more (and more adequate) options for child-rearing are "in need." Underlying this definition are the assumptions that:

- there is no generally agreed upon or objective definition of "good care";
- within the limits of nonabusive care parents have the right to choose from available options the kind of care their children will receive; and
- in the long run, most parents will choose styles of child-rearing that are beneficial to children, adults and society--if they feel they have adequate options.

To define the "need for care" only in terms of children's needs may result in neglect of the lives of parents (and thereby, indirectly, of children as well). To consider child care in the context of family support, and family care, seems a more powerful and appropriate perspective.

C. How Do We Determine the Needs of Families in Massachusetts?

There are several ways to determine the extent of needs of families for desirable child care options. The first and most obvious procedure is to ask families what arrangements they now make and how they feel about these arrangements. But simply asking parents what they want is not necessarily the most effective way of determining what parents consider desirable care, or predicting how parents might choose to act if they were given increased options. In a concrete sense, families express their choices best when they have choices--and not before (although we can at least determine if parents now have what they perceive to be choices).

Another way to determine the extent of existing parental choice is to infer from the actions of families the need that exists--and the need that would be perceived by families if they were aware of options. For example, the introduction of Misterogers and Sesame Street showed many parents some of the possibilities for children's television. Many parents became dissatisfied with what they had regarded as inadequate but inevitable commercial television fare. Defining "need" in this way, we can take the example of a woman head of household, working regularly outside of her home, and probably "satisfied with placing her three preschoolers in a harried neighbor's home every day, with nine other preschoolers. She might come to feel that she did not now have the options she wanted, for child care, if we talked with her of a warm, safe nearby center.

Thus, like many others before us, we describe "need" in this chapter partly in terms of our own values. We present statistics on families who, we think, might feel a "need" if they thought they had any choice. But of greater importance are the descriptions of child care that Massachusetts families now provide and use, and what they report they want.

II. DESCRIPTION OF CURRENT CHILD CARE IN MASSACHUSETTS

A. Introduction

Our description of current child care arrangements for the 683,000 children 0-6 in Massachusetts begins with three basic conclusions:

- Over half of all Massachusetts children 0-6 are regularly cared for by someone other than their parents during some hours of the day. These 350,000 children are cared for in widely different kinds of settings including preschool programs in centers and schools, in homes other than their own, and at home by babysitters, relatives, siblings. A surprising number are left alone.
- Almost 300,000 children 0-6 are regularly cared for only by their mothers. These children remain at home every day, with mother as their only caretaker. Sixty-eight per cent of these children are under age four. Thus a potential (and perhaps a reality) exists now in Massachusetts for loneliness and isolation of thousands of Massachusetts caretakers and their children.
- Over 60,000 families (16 per cent) with more than 100,000 children 0-6 report "difficulty" in setting up their child care arrangement. Twenty-eight per cent (109,000) of all mothers in Massachusetts with over 160,000 young children report that they usually work outside the home. Data on parents' assessments of their needs for help, and on employment status of mothers with young children suggest that a powerful, felt need exists for child care assistance for Massachusetts families with young children.

Our data on current child care arrangements are based on the MEEP Survey, an in-depth, home-interview study of 516 Massachusetts families with children 0-6. The families surveyed were chosen through area probability sampling procedures and interviewed at home (evenings and weekends in November 1970) by the staff of the Becker Research Corporation of Boston. Mothers and fathers were asked about their current child care arrangements and practices, their attitudes about child care, and their needs and desires for options and assistance. Using the 1970 U. S. Census datum that there are 683,161 children 0-6 in Massachusetts, it was estimated that there are 390,000 Massachusetts families with children 0-6. These base figures were used, together with percentages from the MEEP Survey, to produce estimates of the numbers of children and families in Massachusetts using various kinds of child care arrangements.

Using MEEP Survey results, and extrapolations to all families with children 0-6 in the Commonwealth, this section describes current care arrangements for children 0-6 and their families. Following a descriptive overview are sections on families with children 0-6 who indicate "difficulty" in setting up child care arrangements, and families with mothers who usually work outside their homes.

B. An Overview of Current Child Care Arrangements

In light of the fact that the total Massachusetts population increased by 10 per cent, from 1960 to 1970, it is important to note that the number of children 0-6 declined 9 per cent since 1960 (Table 3-1). Despite these facts, current population trends lead us to project a slight increase in numbers of children 0-5 in the next decade.

There are now many different kinds of child care arrangements in Massachusetts (see Tables 3-2 to 3-7). In the MEEP Survey, public nursery schools (such as those run by the Department of Mental Health), private nursery schools, day care centers, Head Start programs, and private kindergartens are considered formal preschool programs. Most of these programs are half-day or less; only day care centers and some Head Start programs regularly provide formal program care for children more than three or four hours a day. Of the 683,161 children 0-6 in Massachusetts, relatively few go to formal preschool programs and even fewer are in full-day formal program care (Table 3-3, Table 3-12). Of the total daylight hours of total care (parent and non-parent) during the workweek, for children 0-6 in Massachusetts, probably less than 4 per cent are spent in formal preschool programs.

Public kindergarten is usually a two and one-half hour program, while first grade is six to seven hours. An estimated 161,000 four-, five- and six-year-old children regularly spend time in public kindergarten and first grade, accounting for about 7 per cent of the daylight hours of total care of Massachusetts children during the work week.

About the same number of children as attend normal preschool programs are regularly cared for in a relative's, friend's, neighbor's or other's home. Hours of care vary up to twelve a day. It is likely that about 5 per cent of daylight hours of total care of Massachusetts children 0-6 are spent in homes other than their own.

By far the greatest number of children 0-6 are cared for in their own homes, accounting for about 85 per cent of the daylight hours of total care of all children 0-6 during the work week. Fathers, babysitters, grandmothers, friends, relatives, siblings, and mothers in Massachusetts care for the youngest generations.

Data on family income suggest that children from families with gross incomes over $15,000 per year spend more time in child care arrangements outside their own home. When at home, such children are cared for by adults other than their parents more than children from families with less money (Tables 3-4, 3-6, 3-10). Children from affluent families are far more likely to be in nursery school and cared for by babysitters than are children in financially less well off families. The data suggest that if Massachusetts families had more money (which would increase their child care options), many parents would choose to increase their children's contacts with other children and with other grown-ups. Compared to others, children in affluent families seem to have considerably more nonparental caretakers, both out of their homes and in them.

Age of children is an important variable in current child care arrangements in Massachusetts (Tables 3-5, 3-7, 3-8, 3-11). Older children more often spend time away from home than younger children, although when all children are at home, patterns of care do not vary by age. Sixty-eight per cent of four-, five- and six-year-olds regularly spend time away from their homes compared to 15 per cent of children three and under. More four-year-olds attend formal preschool programs than any other age group. Five-year-olds often go to private or public kindergarten, and most six-year-old children are in first grade. Almost equal numbers of two-, three- and four-year-old children are regularly cared for in homes other than their own. Few one-year-olds and fewer infants are regularly cared for outside their own home. Only 3 per cent of all children under four are regularly cared for in a nonhome setting.

Although 70 to 80 per cent of all children are cared for by mother or father when they are at home, the percentage of nonparental care in the child's home is relatively constant for all ages 0-6 (Table 3-10). Babysitters, grandmothers, friends, relatives, and other children care for children of all ages, with no type of caretaker concentrating on a particular age. The data suggest that educational programs for in-home caretakers of Massachusetts children should provide information on the needs of infants and toddlers, as well as preschool and school-age children.

Few children who spend regular time in formal preschool programs or public kindergarten are there for the full day (Table 3-12). The great bulk of formal preschool and public kindergarten care is in the mornings. Although only 25 per cent of children 0-6 in Massachusetts have mothers who usually work outside their homes, 43 per cent of the children in full-day programs have mothers who usually work outside their homes. This suggests that many more mothers working outside their homes might be looking for full-day child care arrangements.

Data on hours of care of children in formal preschool programs, public kindergarten, and homes other than their own suggest that children who need out-of-home care for thirty or more hours a week tend to be in homes other than their own rather than centers (Table 3-13). It is unclear whether supply or demand is the key factor here. It may be that many parents simply prefer children to be cared for in homes if the care is for an extended period of time. It seems likely, however, that given child care centers that fit their pocketbooks and needs, many parents would use these facilities for extended hours of care for their children. Thirty-eight per cent of children in homes other than their own spend more than thirty hours per work week there (at least six hours a day). The number of children cared for in homes other than their own, for many hours, suggests that their caretakers may want or need services relating to child nutrition, health, and education. There are more than 20,000 Massachusetts children who spend more than six hours a day in a home other than their own, and the Department of Public Welfare reports that less than two hundred family day care homes in the Commonwealth have received licensing services.

Children regularly cared for in homes other than their own are more likely to receive meals and less likely to receive regular medical care there than are children in formal preschool programs and public kindergarten (Tables 3-14, 3-15). The figures also suggest that relatively few children receive nutritional and medical supplements in care arrangements outside their own homes. These data point to possible needs for increased support to families, children, and caretakers. One wonders, for example, how many children cared for each day in a home other than their own need medical care.

Well over half of children in out-of-home arrangements travel less than ten minutes from their home (Table 3-16). This data supports the notion that a major element of effective demand for child care is closeness to home. Few children who are regularly cared for in a home other than their own travel more than twenty minutes. Most arrangements in homes are within the child's neighborhood.

Data on payment for child care and early education suggest that when payment occurs at all, for program or home care, it does not often exceed $20 a week and is usually between $1-10 (Table 3-17). Arrangements costing parents more than $20 per week are very few; this fact is particularly striking in the context of the costs of child care (see chapter on costs). Parents rarely can or will pay the full costs of formal care, but many parents are willing and able to pay part of the costs of care.

Although "free" child care arrangements, like bartered arrangements, for which no direct cash payment is made by parents, outnumber paid arrangements two to one, the total amount of child care money paid by Massachusetts parents with children 0-6 probably exceeds $50 million a year.[1]

Parents seem to pay more for children who are cared for in homes other than their own than for programs or in-home care. This probably reflects the number of hours their children spend in other homes. Payment data show that many thousands of child care arrangements are not paid for directly by parents. Programs like Head Start and public kindergarten are paid for out of the public treasury. In addition, many relatives care for children at no cash cost.

C. Families Reporting Difficulties in Making Child Care Arrangements

One definition of child care need suggests that families should be asked what they feel they need. The MEEP Survey suggests that over 60,000 families with over 100,000 children 0-6 report "difficulty" in making their child care arrangements. Adding those families who report having difficulty "sometimes" shows that almost 30 per cent of all Massachusetts families with children 0-6 report having some difficulty securing the child care they feel they need (Table 3-18).

Families with incomes below $4800 are more likely to report difficulty making child care arrangements than are families with more money. There are not major differences, however, among families with incomes above $4800. This suggests that even those families with substantial income find it difficult to make child care arrangements because of the small number of openings and the unsatisfactory nature of many of the alternatives which are available.

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[1] An estimate of $50 million a year was reached by multiplying the number of payments per payment range by the midpoint of the range (Table 3-17), multiplying by 50 weeks per payment, and summing the totals. The estimate is conservative because (1) only one payment was counted for each child whose family reported payment, and (2) for the range $20+, $25 was taken as the "midpoint" as well, but is probably acceptable because some arrangements are not year-round.

Interestingly, families with more than one child 0-6 do not report more difficulty finding child care than families with only one young child. Families with children over six are as likely to report difficulty as families who have only 0-6-year-olds (Table 3-20). It may be that since there is so little full-day child care in centers now, families do not have to face the problem of splitting up a four-year-old and an infant (because infant center care is less common than center care for older children). As the number of spaces in child care centers increases in the next few years, it is likely that families with two or more young children will experience more difficulty than families with one young child, unless there is a parallel increase in the number of family day care homes.

The data support the idea that lack of supply is a critical factor in explaining the large number of families who experience difficulty in finding adequate child care. If lack of money for child care in families was the only important variable now, one might expect that families with several young children would experience more difficulty (since they would have to pay more for several children outside the home) than would a family with only one child. This does not seem to be the case. Efforts that increase supply, such as giving parents and citizens in Massachusetts more information on possibilities for starting family day care homes, systems, and child care centers, might help to reduce the number of families in need.

The problem of difficulty in arranging child care is not one confined to cities and suburbs in Massachusetts. Over 15,000 rural families with about 25,000 children 0-6 report difficulty in finding adequate child care. Rural problems are quite different than those in the city (for many families and children, transportation is a critical variable). (Table 3-21.)

Mothers who are not now usually working outside their homes report as much difficulty in finding child care as mothers who usually work outside the home (Table 3-22). Moreover, scarcity of supply for child care seems to extend to in-home care as much as out-of-home care. Programs that supported in-home care (by training pools of caretakers to assist mothers who want support in caring for their children at home) might help to free mothers to work outside their homes, help as volunteers, finish a degree, and associate with other adults at least part-time. Reports of difficulty finding child care indicate that many mothers in the Commonwealth would welcome help, either opportunities for their children to spend more time outside of their home or assistance by someone coming into their home.

D. Families with Mothers Who Usually Work Outside Their Own Homes

Most national definitions of child care "need" start with families with mothers who work outside of their own homes, whom, it is assumed, have the greatest needs for child care assistance. In Massachusetts, 28 per cent of mothers with young children report that they usually work. These 109,000 mothers have an average of 1.53 preschool children each (compared to the average of all Massachusetts families with young children of 1.65) and a total of over 160,000 children 0-6.

As might be expected, children of mothers who usually work outside their homes are more likely than others regularly to spend time in formal preschool programs and in homes other than their own (Table 3-23). Particularly striking are the 23 per cent of children of mothers who work outside their homes (excluding first graders) who are cared for in other homes, compared to the 8 per cent of children whose mothers do not work outside their homes. Almost half of all children in Massachusetts regularly cared for in homes other than their own are children of mothers who work outside of the home, although these children total only one-quarter of all 0-6-year-olds in the Commonwealth.

The comparison of the number of children (with mothers working outside their homes) who are in nursery school, with those in day care centers, may provide additional evidence of child care supply problems in Massachusetts. It seems likely that many more of these families would use child care centers if more center care were available. The high percentage of children in relatives' homes also raises the question of supply. How many children are "stuck" in a half-willing relative's home because the family must find a place for them while mother works? Mothers who usually work outside the home might use more center-based options. There is also a need for providing assistance to home-based caretakers of young children.

Children of mothers usually working outside their homes are much more often cared for by fathers or baby-sitters than are other children (Table 3-28). The extent of care by fathers is particularly significant because it raises questions about the life conditions of families where both parents regularly work outside the home. Several comments from the 1966 report, "Day Care for Children in Massachusetts," published by the Massachusetts Commission on Children and Youth, highlight these conditions:

> I can work only on weekends, seeing as I have no one but my husband to care for our child, and this is difficult for both of us as we never have a chance to spend a full weekend together as a family. In addition, it is hard for my husband to spend the entire weekend caring for a baby after working all week himself.

> I work 3:00 to 11:00 p.m. and my husband starts work at 11:00 p.m., so he doesn't get the sleep he should.

Care of young children by their fathers can be very rewarding for both father and child, but care by mothers and fathers after a long day's work may also add to stress and strain. Data on mothers who work outside the home and data on mothers who remain at home alone with their children reinforce the view that many mothers and fathers do not now have child care arrangements of their choice. That is, many exhausted mothers and fathers care for children because there is no other choice. Coupled with the fact that only 4 per cent of Massachusetts families with children 0-6 have a non-parental adult living in the home, the MEEP Survey indicates that many thousands of parents may feel trapped into rigid and often lonely patterns of child-rearing that do not adequately meet their needs.

Twenty-five per cent of the children of mothers who usually work outside their homes, who spend regular time in formal preschool programs, public kindergarten, and homes other than their own, spend over six hours a day in these care situations. The bulk of these hours are in other homes. Two-thirds of the 21,000 young children of mothers who work outside the home, and who are regularly cared for more than thirty hours a week, are in homes other than their own (Table 3-29). Thousands of mothers who work outside their homes need to find care arrangements where children can spend at least thirty hours a week there. Since there are relatively few child care centers, most families now choose (or are forced) to rely on home care. The data point to needs to expand both center care and family day care and to improve services for home-based child care.

Almost half of payments for child care in Massachusetts are for children of mothers who usually work outside their homes (Tables 3-17 and 3-30). These payments may exceed $25 million per year and probably are more than half of all dollars paid per year for child care in Massachusetts.[1] MEEP data suggest that more than half of all dollars used to purchase child care across the state are spent by the 28 per cent of mothers who usually work outside their homes, for the care of 25 per cent of children 0-6 in the Commonwealth. Currently, then, families with mothers who usually work outside their own homes are the principal "consumers" of monetized child care services--especially for child care in homes other than their own. These families consistently pay higher rates for more hours of care than the general population of purchasers of child care in Massachusetts.

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[1] An estimate of $25 million a year was reached by multiplying the number of payments per payment range by the midpoint of the range (Table 3-30), multiplying by 50 weeks per payment, and summing the totals. The estimate is conservative because (1) only one payment was counted for each child whose family reported payment, and (2) for the range $20+, $25 was taken as the "midpoint" but is probably acceptable, because some arrangements are not year-round.

III. FACTORS IN EFFECTIVE DEMAND BY PARENTS FOR CHILD CARE

Effective demand for child care has to be defined in terms of a given service, at a given time and place, at a given price. If you know those things, then you can say how much service of such and such a kind people are using. That is a question of economic fact. (Potential demand relates to the question of politics and philosophy addressed above: how much child care service do people need? In the final analysis, each parent, each planner, each voter, each legislator decides the answer to this question for himself or herself.)

In general, parents want child care that is:

- free, or inexpensive, relative to their budget;
- near their homes, especially if they have several children;[1]
- at the right hours for the right length of time; and
- of the "right" kind, with respect to sponsorship, facilities, program, personnel.

Other factors, like a program's ability to take siblings, are also important, but the four points mentioned are of greatest importance.

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[1] The extent of demand for care near work is very poorly understood. Many scattered surveys show parents very interested in care near the workplace, particularly hospitals and universities. Others appear to show that the demand for care near home is very much stronger. Plainly, employers in particular circumstances can provide desperately needed services, and the option of child care located at the place of work should be available to the minority of parents who prefer it.

A. Price of Services: Current Practice and Attitudes

In the nation as a whole, probably 70 to 80 per cent of the child care arrangements of mothers[1] who work outside the home are non-monetized[2] (not paid for in cash). In Massachusetts, at least 50 per cent are non-monetized (see Table 3-30). That is, mothers who work outside the home do not generally pay in cash for their child care service. Such service is "free" (from the father, grandparent, older sibling), or bartered with relatives, neighbors, and friends. At least 10 per cent of the children 0-14 of mothers working outside the home are simply left to care for themselves during working hours.[3] In Massachusetts, the payment picture is much the same (see Tables 3-17, 3-30).

Many parents believe that child care does not or will not or should not take up too much of their income. That has been indeed a reasonable belief. Years ago most Americans lived in extended families. Children of all ages worked and played with other children and adults of all ages, apprenticed to real-life, career activities at an early age--on a farm, in a shoemaker's shop. Parents worked for themselves, for bartered goods and services; grandparents helped, often with children; the whole family worked together on daily tasks. Mothers could support and care for their families, neighbors, communities, without being paid or repaid in money.

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[1] Probably at least 5 per cent of the users of formal child care are single fathers, but statistics are not available for this group. The MEEP Survey does not provide further data on this issue.

[2] Assumed to be about 85 per cent in Seth Low and Pearl Spindler, Child Care Arrangements of Working Mothers in the United States, Children's Bureau Pub. No. 461-1968, U. S. Department of Labor and U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1968, Tables A-47 and A-48. Since child care is becoming increasingly monetized, we have estimated a range from 70 to 80 per cent.

[3] Eight per cent in Low and Spindler, Child Care Arrangements, Table A-1. This is assumed to be an underestimate.

But the picture is changing. The extended family has broken up. Many mothers feel they can better support their families by working for pay. These sociological changes, and the movement for equal pay for women, mean that child care services are moving into the monetized sector of our economy. Like shoemakers and clergymen, those who take care of children now more and more expect to be paid, since if they spent their time in other jobs they would be paid.

Only 4 per cent of Massachusetts families with children 0-6 now have any nonparental adult living with the nuclear family, so the supply of "free" service has dropped off sharply. Opportunities for bartering or trading services are fewer and more skimpy: Families move frequently, almost a third of mothers with preschoolers work outside the home, teenagers spend the bulk of their time with other teenagers. For many parents with young children, at the same time that regular, paid jobs seem more necessary desirable, arranging child care becomes more difficult. In 1960, few parents paid more than $5 per week per child. In 1970, about 14 per cent of Massachusetts parents paid more than $10 per week per child.

What will happen in the 1970s? We expect recent trends to continue. In 1948, 18 per cent of American mothers worked outside the home; in 1971, 43 per cent did so, including over 30 per cent of mothers with children under six. Massachusetts figures and projections are very similar: At least 28 per cent of mothers with young children already work outside their homes. We may thus expect fewer and fewer persons to be available for free and bartered child care service, more and more to need paid services.

But how much can parents pay? Around the country, most poverty families can pay, if anything, only $2-3 a week per child--which, although it represents only 5 to 20 per cent of the costs of organized child care, also represents, on the average, about 10 per cent of family income. Average private child care center fees--which are indeed paid by some poverty families--come closer to 20 to 35 per cent of family incomes. In general, families earning less than median incomes (about $10,000 a year) do not, and say they cannot, pay more than $6-$12 per week per child (although most of the various kinds and qualities of organized care cost $15-$55 per week per child).

Table 3-A

How Much Would You be Able to Pay for the Child Care of Your Choice?*

		"I want the services I've got"	Nothing	$1-10/ week	$10-20/ week	$20+/ week	DK	
For one child:	%	36	8	22	17	9	8	(100%)
	#	140,000 families	31,000	86,000	66,000	35,000	31,000	
For all the children:	%	36	2	14	14	18	15	(99%)
	#	140,000	8,000	55,000	55,000	70,000	59,000	

(N = 390,000 families with children 0-6)

*Figures rounded to nearest thousand and may not add up to totals.

Parents say they would pay more money than they now spend if they could choose the child care they want. Using an average of 1.65 young children per family, we see that about 125,000 families say they would pay more than $10 per week for only 14 per cent of the young children in Massachusetts.

In summary, then, the price of child care is critical in determining demand. There are everywhere long waiting lists for free organized child care. There is practically no effective demand for child care costing over $25 per child per week, although well-staffed child care in Massachusetts costs more like $40-55 per child per week (see chapter on costs). There is an enormous gap between what parents can and will pay, and the costs of organized or formal child care. Parents therefore rely predominantly on noncash arrangements, but such arrangements become fewer even while the need for them grows apace. Many children, especially after-schoolers, are left alone.

B. Location of Child Care

Most parents use child care in their homes or within walking distance of their homes. Nationwide and ad hoc studies of American child care service show 80 to 90 per cent of child care arrangements to be in the child's own home[1] or within "three blocks of home," [2] "within five minutes of home," "near enough so my older children join the little ones after school."[3] Use of arrangements in the home is much the most common for families with several children; generally only for children under fourteen is there any widespread use of arrangements outside of homes.[4] There is, moreover, considerable anecdotal evidence that reliability of use of child care (and of the parents' training and working) drops off as child care arrangements are found further from home.

In Massachusetts, parents indicate the same patterns of demand (see Table 3-18). Far more Massachusetts mothers working outside the home, when asked, say they want child care near home than close to work. Nevertheless, those who do need care close to work are expressing their need for such an option which should be available. Forty-seven per cent of all Massachusetts families with young children (183,000) list "close to home" as one of the three factors most important in a children's program. Given the choice of an "ideal" child care arrangement next door at $15 per week for all the children or the same "ideal" arrangement a half hour away and free, parents chose:

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[1] Low and Spindler, Child Care Arrangements, Table A-1. Depending on one's assumptions, 60-90 per cent of child arrangements may be assumed from this report to be at or near home.

[2] See, for instance, San Diego County Department of Public Welfare, Preliminary Summary of Findings, Child Care Report, Project No. 339, San Diego County Department of Public Welfare, mimeographed, 1968.

[3] From an industrial survey conducted in Boston, 1970, personal communication.

[4] Low and Spindler, Child Care Arrangements, Table A-1.

Table 3-B

Parental Choice of Child Care Arrangement--
Cost or Closeness

	Per Cent	Number*
Next door at $15	58	(227,000)
Free and one-half hour away	33	(129,000)
Don't know	9	(35,000)
	100%	(390,000) = total families with children 0-6

*Figures rounded to nearest thousand and may not add up to totals.

Moreover, 28 per cent (36,000) of those parents who choose "free and a half-hour away" believe that, generally, closeness is more important than cost in selecting child care.

The desire for care close to home does not vary with family income. The data strongly suggest that whatever child care parents want (home or center) a great many want it close to the family home. Of those parents who want child care in a center, 60 per cent (44,000) choose "closeness" over "cost" and 55 per cent would choose "next door" at $15 (41,000).

Thus, location of arrangements is critical to a majority of parents. The image of a pregnant mother with twins, with no car, in winter on an icy day, will perhaps illustrate the point. Probably the majority of options offered to parents should therefore be close to home.

C. Care for the Right Number of Hours, at the Right Time

Studies in Vermont,[1] California,[2] Illinois[3] and a recent national study[4] indicate that at least half of all arrangements made for care with anyone other than

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(See page 3-22 for footnotes)

the child's parent (whether in or out of the child's own home) occur outside the normal 9-5 working day, five days a week. A substantial amount of child care services occur outside the daytime period 7-7. Thousands of Massachusetts mothers and fathers work nights and weekends, and need child care at these times. It is likely, however, that more adequate child care options would reduce the number of odd hours worked by parents and permit them more time to be together.

Few parents want or need to seek child care twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week. Most such cases are special, emergency needs, now often (although inadequately) met by neighbors and foster homes. But we estimate that at least 55,000 (50 per cent of 109,000 working mothers) Massachusetts parents need care at times outside the standard five-day week, daylight hours.

Many parents choose to, or have to, make multiple arrangements for the care of their children during working hours. The most common such arrangements combine school, kindergarten and nursery school with a father or mother at home before or after work. Older siblings are kept out of school, parents stagger their working hours (and rarely see each other), grandparents and neighbors step in when other arrangements are insufficient. Probably at least a fourth of all mothers who work outside the home make such multiple arrangements regularly during their children's waking hours.

(Footnotes for page 3-21)

[1] State of Vermont Family Assistance Program, and Mathematica, Inc., Child Care Data Extract, from the Report on the Baseline Survey and Cost Projections, State of Vermont Family Assistance Program Planning Papers, mimeographed, 1971, Table XI, p. 89.

[2] San Diego County Department of Public Welfare, Preliminary Summary of Findings, front page.

[3] Personal communication from Keith McClellan, formerly of the Welfare Council of Chicago.

[4] Westinghouse Learning Corporation-Westat Research, Inc., Day Care Survey, 1970, Table 4.13, p. 161.

In Massachusetts, 62 per cent of the children of mothers who work outside the home, and who are regularly cared for out of their own home, also, when in their own home, are regularly cared for by someone other than their mother for at least some of the day or night. (Of these 42,000 children, 21,000 are cared for by fathers and 12,000 by babysitters.) Thus thousands of Massachusetts parents who work outside the home must regularly make multiple arrangements for their children.

Many mothers, in addition, ask poignantly for "a little extra child care so I can shop/do the laundry in winter/visit my relative in the hospital." It seems plain, especially for single, working parents, that an enormous need exists to provide enough child care hours at the right time.

D. Child Care of the Right Kind and Sponsorship

Homes and Centers

Of the total number of child care arrangements in the United States, about 75 per cent are in a home (Table 3-C). Nationally, probably about half of all parents who want and/or need assistance in their child care would be expected to seek care in homes if it were nearby, inexpensive, and the appropriate hours. Home arrangements may be especially suitable for infants (see the pattern of current use), some after-schoolers, children with special needs, children from isolated families and from large families (the last because parents typically want to keep children together).

In Massachusetts, at least 66 per cent of young children 0-6 are cared for regularly in homes (see Tables 3-3 - 3-8). When asked their preference, parents responded in the following manner:

Table 3-C

Child Care Preferences

		Approximate	
Parents' Preferred Type of Care	Per Cent	Number of Families	Number of Children in These Families
Myself at home	39	152,000	250,000 - 270,000*
Neighbor, friend or another mother in my or another's home	39	152,000	250,000 - 270,000*
A center	19	74,000	100,000*- 120,000
No answer	3	12,000	19,000
	100%	390,000	670,000 (approximately)

*These estimates are based on an average 1.65 preschoolers per family. The ranges given for numbers of children are to account for the fact that we know families using home care typically have more children than families using center care (the averages are unknown).

Figures rounded to nearest thousand and may not add up to totals.

These data clearly indicate that most parents now want child care that is home-based, the care they now know best. Included in the group that chooses home-based care with someone other than themselves are the 27 per cent of all mothers (about 102,000) who want someone to come into their own homes and help with child care. Twelve per cent (45,260) of all mothers (with about 75,000 children) would choose to take their child to another home for regular child care. (Presumably, however, if we knew more about parents' desire for home-based care, we would find that much of the reported desire to have a child "in-home" is at present confused with the fact that most home care is with someone the parent *knows*--which most parents prefer.)

Many parents are delighted to have their children in centers; probably half would ultimately choose centers *if they in fact knew of nearby, available places in a good center*. In Massachusetts, fewer than 6,000 families use day care centers, and probably under 40,000 have any contact with any kind of center care. Parents who use and like center care have often mentioned to MEEP staff the opportunity for experience with other children, preschool education programs and field trips, after-school recreation and tutoring as benefits of center programs. Others have commented on the "stability" of such programs (the sitter never gets sick). It seems likely that many parents who prefer "care in a home" for their children would also choose to use regular center care (such as nursery school) for some hours of the day--especially for children ages two and one-half to five. And many children would also prefer such a mix.

Interest is rapidly mounting in mixed home-care-center-care systems. Parents and educators considering such care have reported to MEEP staff that they particularly like child care systems offering a choice of homes, centers or home-and-center care for each child. (See the chapter on programs.)

Program Elements

Massachusetts parents report interest in the following characteristics of child care arrangements and programs. From this list of sixteen program characteristics, parents were asked to select those they found "most important" and "least important" in a children's program.

1. Would provide meals
2. Would provide health care
3. Close to home
4. A program your child could be in as long as you want
5. Would involve parents
6. Would teach children how to read
7. Would provide special toys
8. Speak many languages
9. Available anytime day or night
10. Staffed by men teachers as well as women
11. Close to place of work
12. Program with children like mine
13. Would provide TV
14. Racially integrated with children of various backgrounds
15. Would help children get along better with others
16. Give children chance to learn about community

Table 3-D(a)

Most Important Characteristics of Child Care Programs According to Massachusetts Parents

		Per Cent	Number of Families*
1.	Help children get along better with each other	57	222,000
2.	Close to home	41	160,000
3.	Provide health care	38	148,000
4.	Provide meals	36	140,000
5.	Racially integrated	25	90,000
6.	Involve parents	22	86,000

Table 3-D(b)

Least Important Characteristics of Child Care Programs According to Massachusetts Parents

		Per Cent	Number of Families*
1.	Provide TV	68	265,000
2.	Speak many languages	49	191,000
3.	Provide special toys	33	129,000

*Figures rounded to nearest thousand.

E. Summary

Patterns of use of child care arrangements make very clear that finances, geographical convenience and appropriateness of hours of child care are of necessity the parent's first concern. When these primary needs are met, parents then can--and do--express their strong preferences for various program types and elements. Given a choice, some parents would always choose large, school-like centers; some would seek tiny, neighborhood centers; others would always choose cozy home substitutes. Some clearly want an educational environment at least corresponding to the responsive stimulation of middle-class homes. Other parents care only that their children in their absence be safe and protected. And many parents have different views over time, with respect to different children, and with respect to their children at different ages. For these reasons, diversity of program seems a critical element of demand as we know it, even after distance, financial need and appropriate hours have been taken into consideration, and provided, according to parental need.

In summary, we may say that 75 to 90 per cent of all parents[1] might be expected to use free, nearby or in-home child care of the "right" kind, at hours appropriate to their work, training and other needs. Conversely, fewer than 1 per cent of all parents will use well-staffed child care for which they must pay full costs. And demand is both unreliable and weak where child care is very inconvenient or at the wrong hours.

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[1] Probably at least 10 per cent of the child population has at some time some special need that might keep a parent from using ordinary child care.

Table 3-1

Number and Per Cent of Massachusetts Children 0-6, 1960 (Census) and 1970 (Estimate)

Age	1960 Per Cent	1960 Number	1970 Per Cent	1970 Number
Under 1	15	111,000	11	75,000
1	15	112,000	9	61,000
2	15	111,000	13	89,000
3	14	107,000	15	102,000
4	14	107,000	17	116,000
5	14	104,000	18	122,000
6	13	100,000	17	116,000
	100%	753,000	100%	683,000

Source: Data for 1960 are from U. S. Census. Data for 1970 are extrapolations from MEEP sample using as a base the 1970 datum of 683,161 children 0-6 in Massachusetts. Figures rounded to nearest thousand and may not add to totals.

Table 3-2

Per Cent and Estimated Number of Massachusetts Children 0-6 Who Do and Do Not Regularly Spend Time Away from Home, by Family Income*

	Do Regularly Spend Time Away from Home		Do Not Regularly Spend Time Away from Home		Total	
	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number
Total Reporting	42	287,000	58	396,000	100	685,000
Family Income**						
Under $4800	46	42,000	54	49,000	100	91,000
$4800-9000	35	53,000	65	98,000	100	151,000
$9000-10,400	42	48,000	58	66,000	100	114,000
$10,400-15,000	39	72,000	61	112,000	100	184,000
#15,000+	57	51,000	43	39,000	100	90,000
Refused to answer	39	20,000	61	31,000	100	51,000

*MEEP Survey results have been applied to the 1970 U. S. Census total of 683,161 children 0-6 in Massachusetts. Figures rounded to nearest thousand and may not add to totals.

**Total reported family income before taxes.

Table 3-3

Per Cent and Estimated Number of Massachusetts Children 0-6 Who Regularly Spend Time in A Formal Pre-school Program, Public Kindergarten, First Grade, or Home Other Than Their Own, or Who Do Not Regularly Spend Time Away from Home*

Type of Care	Per Cent	Number
Formal Preschool Programs		
Public Nursery School	1	6,000
Private Nursery School	3	23,000
Day Care Center	1	6,000
Head Start	1	6,000
Private Kindergarten	3	21,000
Subtotal	9	62,000
Public Kindergarten	12	79,000
First Grade	12	82,000
Subtotal	33	223,000
Other Homes		
Relative's home	5	32,000
Friend or Neighbor's home	2	15,000
Playgroup	1	6,000
Other	2	15,000
Subtotal	10	68,000
Subtotal: Out of Own Home	43	291,000
Own Home, cared for by:		
Mother	41	281,000
Father	6	39,000
Babysitter	3	23,000
Grandmother	2	16,000
Friend/Relative	2	12,000
Other Child	2	12,000
Other	-	---
Subtotal: Own Home	56	383,000
N.A.	1	9,000
Total	100%	683,000

*MEEP Survey Results applied to 1970 U. S. Census total of 683,161 children 0-6 in Massachusetts. Figures rounded to nearest thousand and may not add to totals.

Table 3-4

Per Cent of Massachusetts Children 0-6 Who Regularly Spend Time in A Formal Preschool Program, Public Kindergarten, First Grade, or Home Other Than Their Own, or Who Do Not Regularly Spend Time Away from Home, by Family Income (N=849)

Type of Care	Family Income*					
	Under $4800	$4800-9000	$9000-10,400	$10,400-15,000	$15,000 +	Refused
Formal Preschool Programs						
Public Nursery School	1	2	1	-	2	-
Private Nursery School	2	1	3	2	11	6
Day Care Center	1	-	3	-	-	-
Head Start	3	2	-	-	-	-
Private Kindergarten	-	3	2	3	4	5
Public Kindergarten	15	11	9	10	16	14
First Grade	18	9	11	14	13	9
Other Homes						
Relative's home	5	5	10	3	3	2
Friend or Neighbor's home	3	3	1	3	-	2
Playgroup	-	-	3	-	3	-
Other	2	1	1	2	5	2
Subtotal: Out of Own Home	50	37	44	38	57	40
Own Home, cared for by:						
Mother	34	45	42	48	28	41
Father	7	7	6	3	4	14
Babysitter	2	3	5	2	6	3
Grandmother	2	5	3	1	1	2
Friend/Relative	3	2	-	3	1	-
Other Child	2	-	-	4	2	2
Other	-	-	-	-	1	-
Subtotal: Own Home	50	62	56	61	43	62
N.A.	-	1	-	1	-	-
N=	114	188	142	229	112	64

*Total reported family income before taxes; per cents may not add to 100 because of rounding errors.

Table 3-5

Per Cent of Massachusetts Children 0-6 Who Regularly Spend Time in A Formal Preschool Program, Public Kindergarten, First Grade, or Home Other Than Their Own, or Who Do Not Regularly Spend Time Away from Home, by Age (N=848)

	Age*						
Type of Care	6	5	4	3	2	1	Under 1
Formal Preschool Programs							
Public Nursery School	1	1	4	1	-	-	1
Private Nursery School	-	4	12	4	1	-	-
Day Care Center	-	1	2	-	1	-	-
Head Start	-	1	4	-	-	-	-
Private Kindergarten	1	14	1	-	-	-	-
Public Kindergarten	15	42	8	-	-	-	-
First Grade	64	6	-	-	-	-	-
Other Homes							
Relative's home	3	2	5	7	7	9	2
Friend or Neighbor's home	-	1	2	3	6	1	1
Playgroup	-	-	1	3	1	-	-
Other	3	1	4	2	4	-	1
Subtotal: Out of Own Home	87	73	43	20	20	10	5
Own Home, cared for by:							
Mother	11	23	44	58	52	67	63
Father	1	1	4	9	12	10	11
Babysitter	-	1	1	6	6	6	7
Grandmother	-	1	4	3	2	2	5
Friend/Relative	-	-	1	3	2	2	5
Other Child	1	1	3	-	3	1	2
Other	-	-	-	-	2	-	-
Subtotal: Own Home	13	27	57	79	79	88	93
N.A.	-	-	-	1	1	1	2
N=	148	151	143	124	113	79	90

*Per cents do not add to 100 because of rounding errors.

Table 3-6

Per Cent of Massachusetts Children 0-6, Excluding Those in First Grade, Who Regularly Spend Time in A Formal Preschool Program, Public Kindergarten, or Home Other Than Their Own, or Who Do Not Regularly Spend Time Away from Home, by Family Income (N=743)

	Family Income*						
Type of Care	Under $4800	$4800-9000	$9000-10,400	$10,400-15,000	$15,000 +	Refused	Total
Formal Preschool Programs:							
Public Nursery School	1	1	1	1	2	-	1
Private Nursery School	2	1	3	2	12	7	4
Day Care Center	1	1	3	-	-	-	1
Head Start	3	2	-	-	-	-	1
Private Kindergarten	-	3	2	5	5	5	3
Public Kindergarten	18	12	10	12	18	16	13
Other Homes:							
Relative's home	7	5	11	4	3	2	5
Friend or Neighbor's home	3	3	1	3	-	2	2
Playgroup	-	-	2	-	3	-	1
Other	2	1	1	2	6	2	2
Subtotal: Out of Own Home	37	29	34	29	49	34	33
Own Home, cared for by							
Mother	41	49	48	57	32	45	47
Father	9	8	7	3	4	16	7
Babysitter	2	3	6	2	7	3	4
Grandmother	2	5	4	2	1	2	3
Friend/Relative	4	3	-	3	1	-	2
Other Child	4	-	-	4	2	1	2
Other	1	1	-	-	1	-	1
Subtotal: Own Home	63	69	65	71	48	67	67
N.A.	-	1	1	-	2	-	-
N=	94	171	126	196	98	58	750

*Per cents do not add to 100 because of rounding errors.

Table 3-7

Per Cent of Massachusetts Children 0-6, Excluding Those in First Grade, Who Regularly Spend Time in A Formal Preschool Program, Public Kindergarten, or Home Other Than Their Own, or Who Do Not Regularly Spend Time Away from Home, by Age (N=745)

	Age*						
Type of Care	6	5	4	3	2	1	Under 1
Formal Preschool Programs							
Public Nursery School	2	1	4	1	-	-	1
Private Nursery School	-	4	12	4	1	-	-
Day Care Center	-	1	2	-	1	-	-
Head Start	-	1	4	-	-	-	-
Private Kindergarten	2	15	1	-	-	-	-
Public Kindergarten	41	44	8	-	-	-	-
Other Homes							
Relative's home	9	2	5	7	7	9	2
Friend or Neighbor's home	-	1	2	3	6	1	1
Playgroup	-	-	1	3	1	-	-
Other	7	1	4	2	4	1	1
Subtotal: Out of Own Home	61	70	43	20	20	12	5
Own Home, cared for by:							
Mother	30	24	44	58	52	67	63
Father	-	-	4	9	12	10	11
Babysitter	2	1	1	6	6	6	7
Grandmother	-	1	4	3	2	2	5
Friend/Relative	-	1	1	3	2	2	5
Other Child	-	-	3	-	3	1	2
Other	2	1	-	-	1	-	-
Subtotal: Own Home	34	28	57	79	78	88	93
N.A.	5	1	-	1	3	-	2
N=	54	142	143	124	113	79	90

*Per cents do not add to 100 because of rounding errors.

Table 3-8

Estimated Number of Massachusetts Children 0-6 Who Regularly Spend Time in A Formal Preschool Program, Public Kindergarten, First Grade, or Home Other Than Their Own, or Who Do Not Regularly Spend Time Away from Home*

Age	Formal Preschool Programs	Public Kindergarten	First Grade	Other Home	Own Home	Total
Six	2,000	17,000	74,000	7,000	15,000	116,000
Five	26,000	52,000	7,000	5,000	33,000	123,000
Four	27,000	9,000	---	14,000	66,000	116,000
Three	5,000	---	---	15,000	81,000	101,000
Two	2,000	---	---	15,000	68,000	85,000
One	1,000	---	---	6,000	54,000	61,000
Under One	1,000	---	---	3,000	70,000	74,000
Total	64,000	79,000	82,000	65,000	388,000	676,000

*MEEP Survey Results applied to 1970 U. S. Census total of 683,161 children 0-6 in Massachusetts. Slight differences between this table and other tables are caused by extrapolation of rounding errors. Figures rounded to nearest thousand and may not add to totals.

Table 3-9

Estimated Number of Massachusetts Children 0-6 Who Spend Regular Time in A Home Other Than Their Own, by Family Income*

Family Income	Relative's Home	Friend's or Neighbor's Home	Playgroup	Other	Total
Under $4800	5,000	2,000	---	2,000	9,000
$4800-9000	7,000	5,000	---	2,000	14,000
$9000-10,400	11,000	1,000	2,000	1,000	16,000
$10,400-15,000	6,000	5,000	---	4,000	15,000
$15,000+	3,000	---	3,000	5,000	10,000
Refused	1,000	1,000	---	1,000	2,000
Total	33,000	15,000	5,000	14,000	67,000

*MEEP Survey Results applied to 1970 U. S. Census total of 683,161 children 0-6 in Massachusetts. Slight differences between this table and other tables are caused by extrapolation of rounding errors. Figures rounded to nearest thousand and may not add to totals.

Table 3-10

Caretakers of Massachusetts Children 0-6 in Their Own Homes, Whether or Not They Regularly Spend Time Away from Their Own Home, Excluding Those Children in First Grade, by Family Income and by Age

	Caretaker								
	Mother	Father	Baby-sitter	Grand-mother	Friend/ Relative	Other Child	Other	DNA	Total*
Total Reporting	62	14	10	4	4	4	1	1	100% (N=741)
Per Cent of Families Reporting Income of:									
Under $4800	63	14	7	3	7	4	1	1	100%
$4800-9000	62	15	7	7	5	3	-	-	100%
$9000-10,400	64	17	10	6	-	2	-	1	100%
$10,400-15,000	69	8	11	3	4	4	1	-	100%
$15,000+	47	15	22	6	2	4	3	1	100%
Refused	60	22	7	2	2	3	2	2	100%
									(N=739)
Per Cent by Age of Child:									
Six	59	20	6	4	2	4	-	5	100%
Five	56	15	13	4	4	5	1	2	100%
Four	66	10	9	6	3	5	1	-	100%
Three	66	13	10	4	3	2	1	1	100%
Two	59	19	13	3	2	4	-	-	100%
One	68	14	8	4	4	3	1	-	102%
Under One	66	12	8	4	4	3	-	2	99%
									(N=737)

*Per Cents do not add to 100 due to rounding errors.

Table 3-11

Per Cent of Massachusetts Children 0-6 Who Regularly Spend Time in Formal Pre-school Programs or in Homes Other Than Their Own, by Age

Age	Formal Preschool Programs	Other Homes
Six	3	11
Five	40	8
Four	42	21
Three	8	23
Two	5	23
One	1	9
Under One	1	5
Total	100%	100%

Table 3-12

Per Cent and Estimated Number of Massachusetts Children 0-6 Who Spend Mornings, Afternoons, or Both in Formal Pre-school Programs and Public Kindergarten, and by Mothers Usually Working Outside the Home*

		Mornings	Afternoons	Both	DNA	Total
Children in Formal Preschool Programs and Public Kindergarten:	%	63	21	10	6	100%
	#	88,000	29,000	14,000	8,000	140,000
Children in Formal Preschool Programs and Public Kindergarten with Mothers Who Usually Work Outside the Home:	%	54	17	19	10	100%
	#	18,000	6,000	6,000	3,000	34,000

*MEEP Survey Results applied to 1970 U. S. Census total of 683,161 children 0-6 in Massachusetts. Slight differences between this table and other tables are caused by extrapolations of rounding errors. Figures rounded to nearest thousand and may not add to totals.

Table 3-13

Hours of Care and Education Per Week, of Massachusetts Children 0-6 Who Regularly Spend Time Outside Their Own Homes, for Children in Formal Preschool Programs and Public Kindergartens, and Children in Homes Other Than Their Own*

		Hours					
		Fewer Than 15 per week	15-30 per week	30-40 per week	40+ per week	DNA	Total
Children in Formal Preschool Programs and Public Kindergarten:	%	48	47	5	---	---	100%
	#	67,000	66,000	7,000	---	---	140,000
Children in Homes Other Than Their Own:	%	44	17	11	21	7	100%
	#	29,000	11,000	7,000	14,000	5,000	65,000

*MEEP Survey Results applied to 1970 U. S. Census total of 683,161 children 0-6 in Massachusetts. Slight differences between this table and other tables are caused by extrapolations of rounding errors. Figures rounded to nearest thousand and may not add to totals.

Table 3-14

Per Cent and Estimated Number of Massachusetts Children 0-6 Who Regularly Spend Time in A Formal Preschool Program, Public Kindergarten, or Home Other Than Their Own, by Provision of Meals*

		Meals			
		Yes	No	Sometimes	Total
Children in Formal Preschool Programs and Public Kindergarten:	%	13	87	---	100%
	#	18,000	119,000	---	137,000
Children in Homes Other Than Their Own:	%	65	23	12	100%
	#	40,000	14,000	7,000	61,000
Total	%	29	67	4	100%
	#	58,000	133,000	7,000	198,000

*MEEP Survey Results applied to 1970 U. S. Census total of 683,161 children 0-6 in Massachusetts. Slight differences between this table and other tables are caused by extrapolations of rounding errors. Figures rounded to nearest thousand and may not add to totals.

Table 3-15

Per Cent and Estimated Number of Massachusetts Children 0-6 Who Regularly Spend Time in A Formal Preschool Program, Public Kindergarten, or Home Other Than Their Own, by Provision of Regular Medical Care*

		Regular Medical Care			
		Yes	No	Sometimes	Total
Children in Formal Pre-school Programs and Public Kindergarten:	%	19	81	--	100%
	#	25,000	105,000	--	130,000
Children in Homes Other Than Their Own:	%	7	89	4	100%
	#	4,000	53,000	3,000	59,000
Total	%	15	83	2	100%
	#	29,000	157,000	3,000	189,000

*MEEP Survey Results applied to 1970 U. S. Census total of 683,161 children 0-6 in Massachusetts. Slight differences between this table and other tables are caused by extrapolation of rounding errors. Figures rounded to nearest thousand and may not add to totals.

Table 3-16

Travel of Massachusetts Children 0-6 Who Regularly Spend Time in A Formal Preschool Program, Public Kindergarten, or in A Home Other Than Their Own*

		Travel Time					
		Picked up	Under 10 minutes	10 - 20 minutes	20+ minutes	DNA	Total
Children in A Formal Preschool Program or Public Kindergarten:	%	23	60	9	6	2	100%
	#	31,000	82,000	12,000	8,000	3,000	137,000
Children in A Home Other Than Their Own:	%	--	74	16	3	7	100%
	#	--	51,000	11,000	2,000	5,000	68,000
Total	%	15	65	11	5	4	100%
	#	31,000	133,000	23,000	10,000	8,000	205,000

*MEEP Survey Results applied to 1970 U.S. Census total of 683,161 children 0-6 in Massachusetts. Slight differences between this table and other tables are caused by extrapolations of rounding errors. Figures rounded to nearest thousand and may not add to totals.

Table 3-17

Massachusetts Children 0-6 Who Regularly Spend Time in A Formal Preschool Program, Public Kindergarten, A Home Other Than Their Own, or Do Not Regularly Spend Time Away from Home, and at Home are Cared for by Someone Other Than Mother, by Payment for Care and Education*

		Payments per Week						
		Barter	Nothing	$1-10	$10-20	$20+	DNA/DNK	Total
Children in Formal Preschool Programs or Public Kindergarten:	%	0	65	26	5	3	1	100%
	#	--	91,000	36,000	7,000	4,000	1,000	140,000
Children in Homes Other Than Their Own:	%	12	37	9	20	9	13	100%
	#	8,000	24,000	6,000	13,000	6,000	8,000	64,000
Children in Own Homes--Cared for by Someone Other Than Mother:	%	7	57	18	4	7	7	100%
	#	8,000	62,000	20,000	4,000	8,000	8,000	109,000
Total	%	5	56	20	8	6	5	100%
	#	16,000	177,000	62,000	24,000	18,000	17,000	313,000

Subtotal: Number of children paid for - 104,000

*MEEP Survey Results applied to 1970 U. S. Census total of 683,161 children 0-6 in Massachusetts. Slight differences between this table and other tables are due to extrapolations of rounding errors. This table presents conservative estimates of payments made, because no more than one paid arrangement per child is included. For example, a child in private nursery school whose family also occasionally employs a babysitter for her, was counted only once. It is highly probable that there are many more payments made by parents for child care and early education than the number in this table. Figures rounded to nearest thousand and may not add to totals.

Table 3-18

Per Cent and Estimated Number of Massachusetts Families With Children 0-6 Reporting Difficulties in Making Child Care Arrangements*

	Difficult Time	Easy Time	Somewhere in-between	Other	DNK	Total
All Families With Children 0-6	16	67	11	2	4	100%
Estimated Number of Families	62,000	261,000	43,000	8,000	15,000	390,000
Estimated Number of Children 0-6	103,000	431,000	71,000	13,000	26,000	644,000

*MEEP Survey Results applied to MEEP estimate of 390,000 families with children 0-6 in Massachusetts. This figure is conservative and is possibly 6% low. Estimated number of children is result of multiplying MEEP average number of children 0-6 in Massachusetts families with children 0-6 (1.65) by estimated number of families in each category. Figures rounded to nearest thousand and may not add to totals.

Table 3-19

Per Cent and Estimated Number of Massachusetts Families With Children 0-6 Reporting Difficulties in Making Child Care Arrangements, by Family Income Compared to Family Income of All Families in the Survey Sample and by Family Income With Respect to Poverty Level Compared to Survey Sample

		Difficulty		
	Per Cent of Families in Sample	Per Cent of Families Reporting Difficulty	Estimated Number of Families Reporting Difficulty	Estimated Number of Children in Families Reporting Difficulty*
Family Income				
Under $4800	12	20	13,000	25,000
$4800-9000	23	24	16,000	26,000
$9000-10,400	17	11	7,000	12,000
$10,400-15,000	27	22	15,000	24,000
$15,000+	14	13	8,000	13,000
Refused	8	8	5,000	9,000
Total	101%	98%	65,000	109,000
Poverty Level				
Below poverty level	10	13	8,000	16,000
Above poverty level	90	85	56,000	93,000
Total	100%	98%	65,000	109,000

*Estimated number of children in families reporting difficulty is the result of multiplying MEEP averages of number of children 0-6 for Massachusetts families with children 0-6 from each income group by the estimated number of families with children 0-6 in each income group. Figures rounded to nearest thousand and may not ~~add~~ to totals.

Table 3-20

Per Cent and Estimated Number of Massachusetts Families With Children 0-6 Reporting Difficulties in Making Child Care Arrangements, by Number of Children Six or under Compared to All Families in the Survey Sample and by Children over Six Compared to Survey Sample

Families With Children Six or Under	Per Cent of Families in Sample	Difficulty: Per Cent of Families Reporting Difficulty	Difficulty: Estimated Number of Families Reporting Difficulty
With one child 0-6	50	41	27,000
With two children 0-6	36	38	25,000
With three or more children 0-6	15	18	12,000
Total	101%	97%	64,000
With some children over age six	50	48	32,000
With no children over age six	50	50	32,000
Total	100%	98%	64,000

Note: Figures rounded to nearest thousand and may not add to totals.

Table 3-21

Per Cent and Estimated Number of Massachusetts Families With Children 0-6 Reporting Difficulties in Making Child Care Arrangements, by Urban or Rural* Compared to All Families in the Survey Sample and by Type of Housing Compared to Survey Sample

		Difficulty	
	Per Cent of Families in Sample	Per Cent of Families Reporting Difficulty	Estimated Number of Families Reporting Difficulty
Urban - Rural			
Urban	76	76	50,000
Rural	24	23	15,000
Total	100%	99%	65,000
Housing			
House	59	52	34,000
Apartment	34	32	21,000
Other	7	12	8,000
Total	100%	96%	54,000

*In the MEEP Survey rural was operationally defined by interviewers given instructions that rural was "sparsely populated areas in country-like settings". Figures rounded to nearest thousand and may not add to totals.

Table 3-22

Per Cent and Estimated Number of Massachusetts Mothers With Children 0-6 Who Report Difficulties in Making Child Care Arrangements, by Employment Status of Mother Compared to All Mothers in the Survey Sample, by Age of Mother Compared to Survey Sample, and by Education of Mother Compared to Survey Sample*

		Difficulty		
	Per Cent of Mothers in Sample	Per Cent of Mothers Reporting Difficulty	Estimated Number of Mothers Reporting Difficulty	Estimated Number of Children of Mothers Reporting Difficulty
Employment Status of Mother:				
Usually working outside the home	28	25	16,000	24,000
Not usually working outside the home	72	72	46,000	79,000
Total	100%	97%	62,000	103,000
Age of Mother:				
25 and under	22	24	15,000	
26-30	32	39	25,000	
30-35	23	22	14,000	
36 and over	23	13	9,000	
Total	100%	98%	63,000	
Last Grade Completed by Mother:				
Less than four years high school	21	27	17,000	
High School Graduate	44	39	25,000	
Some College	16	10	7,000	
College Graduate or Graduate School	17	20	13,000	
Total	98%	96%	61,000	

*Estimated numbers of children with mothers who report difficulty in setting up child care arrangements are the result of: (1) multiplying MEEP averages of number of children 0-6 per mother with children 0-6 who usually works outside the home by the estimated number of mothers with children 0-6 who usually work outside the home, and (2) multiplying the average number of children 0-6 per mother with children 0-6 by the estimated number of mothers with children 0-6. Figures rounded to nearest thousand and may not add to totals.

Table 3-23

Per Cent of Massachusetts Children 0-6 Who Regularly Spend Time in A Formal Preschool Program, Public Kindergarten, First Grade, or Home Other Than Their Own, or Who Do Not Regularly Spend Time Away from Home, by Employment Status of Mother

Type of Care	Per Cent of Massachusetts Children 0-6 With Mothers Who Usually Work outside Their Home	Per Cent of Massachusetts Children 0-6 With Mothers Who Do Not Usually Work outside Their Home
Formal Preschool Programs:		
Public Nursery School	-	1
Private Nursery School	6	3
Day Care Center	1	1
Head Start	1	-
Private Kindergarten	4	13
Public Kindergarten	9	13
First Grade	13	12
Other Homes:		
Relative's home	8	4
Friend or Neighbor's home	7	1
Playgroup	-	1
Other	3	2
Subtotal: Out of Own Home	52	41
Own Home, cared for by:		
Mother	24	47
Father	12	4
Babysitter	6	2
Grandmother	2	2
Friend/Relative	2	2
Other Child	1	2
Other	-	-
Subtotal: Own Home	47	59
N.A.	1	-
Total	100%	100%
	N=212	N=625

Total: N=837

Table 3-24

Per Cent of Massachusetts Children 0-6, Excluding Those in First Grade, Who Regularly Spend Time in A Formal Preschool Program, Public Kindergarten, or Home Other Than Their Own, or Who Do Not Regularly Spend Time Away from Home, by Employment Status of Mother

Type of Care	Per Cent of Massachusetts Children 0-6 With Mothers Who Usually Work outside Their Home	Per Cent of Massachusetts Children 0-6 With Mothers Who Do Not Usually Work outside Their Home
Formal Preschool Programs:		
Public Nursery School	-	1
Private Nursery School	6	3
Day Care Center	1	-
Head Start	2	-
Private Kindergarten	4	3
Public Kindergarten	10	15
Other Home:		
Relative's home	10	4
Friend or Neighbor's home	8	1
Playgroup	1	1
Other	4	2
Subtotal: Out of Own Home	46	30
Own Home, cared for by:		
Mother	28	54
Father	14	5
Babysitter	7	3
Grandmother	2	3
Friend/Relative	2	2
Other Child	2	2
Other	-	-
Subtotal: Own Home	55	69
N.A.	-	1
Total	101%	100%
	N=184	N=549

Total: N=733

Table 3-25

Estimated Number of Massachusetts Children 0-6 Whose Mothers Usually Work Outside Their Homes Who Regularly Spend Time in A Formal Preschool Program, Public Kindergarten, First Grade, or A Home Other Than Their Own*

Type of Care	Number
Formal Preschool Programs:	
Public Nursery School	---
Private Nursery School	9,000
Day Care Center	1,000
Head Start	3,000
Private Kindergarten	6,000
Subtotal	19,000
Public Kindergarten	15,000
Subtotal	34,000
First Grade	23,000
Subtotal	57,000
Other Homes:	
Relative's home	15,000
Friend or Neighbor's home	11,000
Playgroup	1,000
Other	6,000
Subtotal	33,000
N.A.	2,000
Total	92,000

*MEEP Survey Results applied to 1970 U.S. Census total of 683,161 children 0-6 in Massachusetts. Figures rounded to nearest thousand and may not add to totals.

Table 3-26

Per Cent and Estimated Number of Massachusetts Mothers With Children 0-6 Who Usually Work outside the Home, by Age of Mothers, and by Education of Mother

	Per Cent	Number*
Age:		
Under 25	22	24,000
26 - 30	31	34,000
31 - 35	27	29,000
36 and over	19	21,000
N.A.	1	1,000
Total	100%	109,000
Last Grade Completed:		
Less than four years of high school	18	20,000
High school graduate	40	44,000
Some college or college graduate	26	28,000
Graduate school	14	15,000
N.A.	2	2,000
Total	100%	109,000

*Estimated number of Massachusetts Mothers with children 0-6 who usually work outside their homes the product of multiplying the MEEP estimate of number of Massachusetts mothers with children 0-6 by the percentage of mothers who reported that they usually work (28%). Figures rounded to nearest thousand and may not add to totals.

Table 3-27

Per Cent and Estimated Number of Massachusetts Mothers With Children 0-6 Who Usually Work outside the Home, by Earnings of Mother, and by Family Income

	Per Cent	Number
Yearly Earnings:		
Under $1,000	27	29,000
$1,000 - 3,000	24	26,000
$3,000 - 5,000	27	29,000
$5,000+	19	21,000
N.A.	3	3,000
Total	100%	109,000
Family Income:		
Under $4,800	5	5,000
$4,800 - 7,600	18	20,000
$7,600 - 9,000	12	13,000
$9,000 - 10,400	17	19,000
$10,400 - 15,000	24	26,000
$15,000+	18	20,000
Refused	5	5,000
DNK	1	1,000
Total	100%	109,000

Note: Figures rounded to nearest thousand and may not add to totals.

Table 3-28

Caretakers of Massachusetts Children 0-6 in Their Own Homes, Whether or Not They Regularly Spend Time Away from Their Own Home, Excluding Those Children in First Grade, by Employment Status of Mother

		Caretaker								
		Mother	Father	Baby-sitter	Grand-mother	Friend/ Relative	Other Child	Other	DNA	Total
Children with mothers who usually work outside their homes	%	44	28	14	4	3	3	1	2	99% N=181
Children with mothers who do not usually work outside their homes	%	69	10	9	4	3	3	1	1	100% N=548

Total N=729

Table 3-29

Hours of Care and Education Per Week of Massachusetts Children 0-6 Whose Mothers Usually Work Outside Their Homes, for Children in Formal Preschool Programs and Public Kindergarten, and Children in Homes Other Than Their Own*

	Hours Per Week				
	Under 15	15 - 30	Over 30	DNA	Total
Children in Formal Preschool Programs and Public Kindergarten	13,000	18,000	3,000	---	35,000
Children in Homes Other Than Their Own	8,000	7,000	14,000	3,000	32,000
Total	21,000	26,000	18,000	3,000	67,000

*MEEP Survey Results applied to 1970 U. S. Census total of 683,161 children 0-6 in Massachusetts. Figures rounded to nearest thousand and may not add to totals.

Table 3-30

Massachusetts Children 0-6 Whose Mothers Usually Work Outside Their Homes Who Regularly Spend Time in A Formal Preschool Program, Public Kindergarten, A Home Other Than Their Own, or Who Do Not Regularly Spend Time Away from Home and When at Home Are Cared for by Someone Other Than Mother, by Payment for Care and Education*

		Payments per Week						
		Barter	Nothing	$1-10	$10-20	$20+	DNA/DNK	Total
Children in a Formal Preschool Program or Public Kindergarten:	%	---	55	29	12	4	---	100%
	#	---	19,000	10,000	4,000	1,000	---	34,851
Children in Homes Other Than Their Own:	%	3	18	11	34	13	21	100%
	#	1,000	6,000	4,000	11,000	4,000	7,000	32,000
Children in Their Own Homes--Cared for by Someone Other Than Mother:	%	14	56	15	6	6	4	101%
	#	6,000	25,000	7,000	2,000	2,000	2,000	42,000
Totals	%	6	44	18	17	7	7	100%
	#	7,000	48,000	20,000	18,000	8,000	8,000	109,000

Subtotal: Number of children paid for - 46,000

*MEEP Survey Results applied to 1970 U.S. Census total of 683,161 children 0-6 in Massachusetts. This table presents conservative estimates of payments because no more than one payment per child is included. A child in private nursery school whose family also occasionally pays for a babysitter, for example, was only counted once. It is likely that there are many more payments in Massachusetts than the number in the table. Figures rounded to nearest thousand and may not add to totals.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE CARE AND EDUCATION OF YOUNG CHILDREN

Development of a body of ideas and programs for the care and education of young children is a relatively recent phenomenon in Western civilization. In America, formal preschool programs designed specifically for young children and their families came into the public eye over one hundred years ago, when reformers and philanthropists such as Elizabeth Peabody opened kindergartens for children of the well-to-do which later in the nineteenth century became comprehensive developmental programs to help immigrant children of the urban slums.

Today, talk of child care and preschool education is on the tips of public and media tongues. Nursery schools, day care centers, Head Start programs open their doors to smiling faces in cities and towns in the Commonwealth and across the nation. Parents' groups, agencies, churches, industries, local, state and federal governments explore the needs for and the possibilities of varieties of home-based and center-based child care systems and arrangements. Professional studies of young children and programs for young children fill the pages of academic journals and regularly find their way into the popular press.

This chapter sketches the history of child care and early education in the United States and describes current programs and approaches to the care and education of young children. To many persons--mothers, fathers, program operators, government officials, legislators--recent flurries of activity and interest in the preschool years are quite confusing. The goal of this chapter is to remove some of the confusion, to provide a basis from which the reader can think about child care/early education programs and issues in the 1970s.

I. HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

A. Children in the Middle Ages

Concern with childhood as a special period of life is a phenomenon of the past several hundred years. In Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life, Phillippe Aries writes,

> Our world is obsessed by the physical, moral, and sexual problems of childhood. This preoccupation was unknown to medieval civilization, because there was no problem for the Middle Ages: as soon as he had been weaned, or soon after, the child became the natural companion of the adult.[1]

Until the twelfth century, medieval art did not know or attempt to portray childhood. Childhood was a period of life that passed quickly and was quickly forgotten.

> In medieval society the idea of childhood did not exist. This is not to say that children were neglected, forsaken, or despised. The idea of childhood is not to be confused with affection for children: it corresponds to an awareness of the particular nature of childhood, that particular nature which distinguishes the child from the adult, even the young adult. In medieval society this awareness was lacking. That is why, as soon as the child could live without the constant solicitude of his mother, his nany, or his cradle-rocker, he belonged to adult society.[2]

Even in the thirteenth century, in a picture of the life of Jacob in St. Louis' moralizing Bible, "Isaac is shown sitting between his two wives, surrounded by some fifteen little men who come up to the level of the grown-ups' waists: these are their children."[3]

Two views of childhood developed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. According to the first, children were creatures to be coddled and amused by. This concept made its appearance in the family circle. It became socially acceptable in the sixteenth century for one to have touching feelings about children. The second concept sprang from churchmen of the sixteenth century and moralists of the seventeenth, who seeing children as fragile creatures of God who needed to be both safeguarded and reformed, were eager to ensure disciplined, rational manners. This view was unwilling to accept children as charming toys. In the seventeenth century the concept passed into family life.[1] A literature developed (written almost exclusively by male moralists) that taught parents that they were the spiritual guardians of their children, responsible before God for their bodies and souls. "Henceforth it was recognized that the child was not ready for life, and that he had to be subjected to a special treatment, a sort of quarantine, before he was allowed to join the adults. This new concern about education would gradually instill itself in the heart of society and transform it from top to bottom. The family ceased to be simply an institution for the transmission of a name and an estate--it assumed a moral and a spiritual function, it moulded bodies and souls."[2]

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[1] Phillippe Aries, Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life (New York: Random House, 1962), p. 411.

[2] Ariès, ibid., p. 128.

[3] Ariès, ibid., p. 33.

By the nineteenth century, two major social institutions had been charged with responsibility for "moulding" the child: the family and the school. At several points in Europe in the nineteenth century, school was seen by many persons as the institution with primary responsibility for education. The extreme of this position led to the setting up of boarding schools which provided varying qualities of care and education twenty-four hours a day.

In America, the growth of public educational institutions, coupled with the slow but steady transformation of the extended family into the nuclear family, has kept the tension between school and family, between public and private responsibility for children, very much alive. Beneath these tensions, underneath past and present battles over mandatory age of school attendance, involvement of parents in school and pre-school programs, child abuse laws and the authority of the State, lies the basic idea that there is a need for institutions to safeguard and educate children, a modern idea now firmly implanted in American social conscience and consciousness.

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[1] Ariès, ibid., pp. 133, 329.

[2] Ariès, ibid., p. 412.

B. Comenius to Froebel

Current theory and practices in the field of early childhood education date back to the writings and work of John Amos Comenius (1592-1670), Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778), Johann Pestalozzi (1746-1827), and Fredrick Froebel (1782-1852). Comenius developed the idea of an educational ladder as part of a universal education system. He emphasized the importance of learning by doing and suggested that play activities should be included in curriculum of every school. Rousseau's major contribution to early childhood education was Emile, in which he wrote that young children should be respected, allowed to grow "naturally," without forced patterns or strict instruction. The idea that young children, allowed to play, would grow and flower was radical for Rousseau's times, for it ran against the moralists' emphasis on formalism of instruction.[1]

Johann Pestalozzi was a Swiss educator and reformer who suggested in the early nineteenth century, "Let the child be a human being and let the teacher be his trusted friend." Pestalozzi, in his books Leonard and Gertrude, How Gertrude Teaches Her Children, and The Evening Hours of a Hermit, wrote that all children deserved to be educated, that school should start with the interests of the child, that children learn through sense perception. Pestalozzi thought out and lived these ideas during a time when teachers motivated children by using the switch, when the prevailing forms of instruction were rote learning and memorization.

Fredrick Froebel, a student and disciple of Pestalozzi, is widely regarded as the father of early childhood education. A keen observer of children, in 1837 Froebel began a school especially for young children.

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[1] Michael Auleta, "Historical Background: Men and Ideas," in Michael Auleta, ed., Foundations of Early Childhood Education: Readings (New York: Random House, 1969), pp. 16-18.

The curriculum of this first "kindergarten" was based on Froebel's ideas that education, more than "preparation" for life, is life itself. Froebel designed special materials for the children--soft felt balls, blocks, sticks. Activities included drawing, cooking, storytelling, gardening, block construction. In Froebel's view, play and the cultivation of children's "spiritual feelings" were most important.[1]

C. Kindergarten in America

The kindergarten came to America in 1855 when Mrs. Carl Schurz opened a kindergarten for German-speaking children in Watertown, Wisconsin. It was in Massachusetts, though, especially Boston, that reformers and philanthropists such as Elizabeth Peabody began the "kindergarten movement." Miss Peabody started America's first English language kindergarten in Boston in 1860, a school for the socialization of wealthy and cultured children. Early spokeswomen for kindergarten such as Mrs. Horace Mann, Kate Douglas Wiggin, Elizabeth Peabody, and Mrs. Alma Kriege, emphasized it as a vehicle for the educational emancipation of well-to-do children.[2]

Kindergartners' ideas were heavily influenced by moralists and educators of the seventeenth century and by reformers such as Pestalozzi and Froebel. Young children were seen as naturally self-centered, focusing on their senses and bodies, and on their powers of action. Raised under mother's tender care alone, children could become selfish, egotistical. Feeling that a harmonious society depended on shared satisfactions and delayed gratification, kindergartners developed an institution where young children could learn to play together. To ensure social harmony, young children should be grouped together in a "garden of children" under the gentle but vigilant eye of a trained teacher. "Like the gardener's cultivation of each plant until it reaches perfection, the trained kindergartner in her

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[1] Auleta, *ibid.*, pp. 19-20; Ellis D. Evans, *Contemporary Influences in Early Childhood Education* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc., 1971), pp. 4-5.

[2] Marvin Lazerson, "Social Reform and Early Childhood Education: Some Historical Perspectives," in Robert H. Anderson and Harold G. Shane, eds., *As the Twig is Bent: Readings in Early Childhood Education* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1971), pp. 24-25.

'garden' aided child development by carefully removing the weed-like obstacles to natural growth and by adding special nourishment to the soil."[1] The medium of interaction was play: Children used Froebel's materials and activities, working together, playing together.

With the massive European migrations to the United States in the 1880's, kindergarten changed from an institution for the affluent to a supplement for poor, unstable families, an institution for the socialization of immigrant children. Century Magazine noted that the kindergarten provides "our earliest opportunity to catch the little Russian, the little Italian, the little German, Pole, Syrian, and begin to make good American citizens of them."[2]

Writing in the American Educator's Encyclopedia in 1941, Patty Smith Hill, an early pioneer of the kindergarten movement, noted, "The kindergarten appeared on the horizon at the right moment for philanthropy, but at the wrong time for public education. Society turned to the young child as the one great hope, and kindergartens opened rapidly under religious and philanthropic influences all over America. They were located in the worst slums of the cities, and highly cultured and intelligent young women prepared themselves in normal schools supported by philanthropists. These young women entered upon the work with rare enthusiasm and consecration to the cause. No neighborhood was too criminal, no family too degenerate, no child too bad. Into Little Italy, Little Russia, Little Egypt and the ghettos they went, offering daily care to humanity in its early years."[3]

Early kindergarten teachers provided multiple services to children and families. Though children only came to the kindergarten in most instances in the mornings, during afternoons the teacher would visit families, seek to arrange health care, counsel parents, children, and neighbors. The early kindergarten provided both care and education for children and their families. Part of the teacher's job and mission was home visiting and welfare work.

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[1] Lazerson, "Social Reform and Early Childhood Education," p. 24.

[2] Quoted in Lazerson, ibid., p. 25.

[3] Quoted in Samuel J. Braun and Esther P. Edwards, History and Theory of Early Childhood Education (Worthington, Ohio: Charles A. Jones, in press).

Seen by many socially minded citizens as a public responsibility, many kindergartens in the 1890s became attached to the public schools. As kindergarten became the lowest extension of the elementary school, the functions of kindergarten teachers began to change. The costs of adding kindergartens to the school system often meant that kindergarten teachers, accustomed to afternoon home visiting, would have to teach one class in the morning and another in the afternoon. Some elementary school teachers, more used to a pedagogy that emphasized memorization and discipline rather than play, reacted strongly to the seeming abandon of many kindergartens. After 1900, by and large, most kindergartens began to acquire the formalism and rigidity that characterized much of the urban public school system.[1]

D. McMillan and Montessori

By 1912, with the defeat of Theodore Roosevelt in the Presidential election, it seemed clear to many that the Progressive movement, with its kindergarten component, had not succeeded in fundamentally altering conditions in the urban immigrant slum. Interest in programs for young children, though, did not die in America. Firmly in Froebel's footsteps, in 1914 in England Margaret McMillan started an open air nursery school, a school with one side literally open to the elements, to let the sunshine in. McMillan stressed the importance of group play experiences for young children, and worked to provide nutritional and medical care for the children and families of her school.

In Italy, Marie Montessori, the first woman to earn a medical degree in Italy, working with children considered retarded and sub-normal, developed a set of materials that facilitated their learning basic discrimination skills. Her success at bringing retarded children up to the level of children in normal school environments led her in 1907 to open case dei bambini (houses of children) in the slums of Rome. Montessori was concerned with the learning environment of young children. Convinced that the first six years were the most central years in a child's development, Montessori developed elaborate sensory materials and procedures of instruction for the children under her care.[1]

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[1] Lazerson, "Social Reform and Early Childhood Education," pp. 26-29.

Both Margaret McMillan and Marie Montessori have exerted enormous influence on American child care and early education, stimulating many parents and teachers to begin programs for young children. Montessori methods and materials, criticized and largely ignored until the late 1950s, are now used in many nursery schools, mainly those that enroll upper and middle income children. Margaret McMillan's attention to the needs of young children encouraged a group of American child care and early education pioneers to establish a series of schools for young children. In 1919, Harriet Johnson opened a laboratory nursery school in New York at what later became the Bank Street College of Education; in 1921 Patty Smith Hill began a laboratory nursery school at Teacher's College, Columbia University; Edna Noble White in 1922 started the Merrill-Palmer Institute in Detroit, dedicated to child study; and in Boston, a social worker, Abigail Eliot, expanded and changed the Ruggles Street Nursery School.[2] These schools were service-observation-training centers, hubs of the expanding child care, early education field.

E. Play, Sin, Early Instruction and Child Study

Many laboratory nursery schools of the 1920's were or became closely connected to colleges that trained teachers of young children; few were tied to the public schools. Women and men attracted to the idea of working and playing with young children came to these schools to learn to teach, and went forth to found nursery schools of their own. The curriculum of the 1920 nursery schools was largely based on Froebel's ideas. Children, given child-sized materials, played. Games, dancing, cooking, trips, building blocks, were typical activities. Major effort was exerted not to "teach": many of these early education leaders "did think sin and early instruction of a cognitive nature were synonymous."[1] Teachers might read to the children, listen to their stories, talk with them, but there was little or no formal instruction. The principle concerns of teachers were child development and maturation, not "learning." Early education, then, in the 1920's centered on play.

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[1] Evans, Contemporary Influences in Early Childhood Education, p. 31.

[2] Braun and Edwards, History and Theory of Early Childhood Education.

Coupled with and responsive to the growth of nursery schools was the development of the discipline of child study. The Ruggles Street Nursery School and the laboratory schools in New York and Detroit became committed to observation of children, and in the 1920's two major research schools were established. In 1921 Dr. Bird Baldwin began the Iowa Child Welfare Station, a six-room laboratory for the study of children; in 1926, Dr. Arnold Gesell, a former student of G. Stanley Hall, opened the Yale Guidance Nursery. Both schools became centers for child research and study in the 1920's, '30's, and '40's.

There were two major efforts in the 1920s to bring together people and information concerned with young children. Lois Meek Stolz, educational secretary of the American Association of University Women, in 1924 set up an information clearinghouse for child study in Washington, D.C. Volumes of observation, research, and theory of child development were gathered together. In 1926 Patty Smith Hill invited a group of child care/early education teachers and professionals to a conference on young children in New York. This group became the National Committee on Nursery Schools, later the National Association for the Education of Young Children. Both these efforts served to deepen and expand interest in young children and pre-school programs.[1]

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[1] Braun and Edwards, ibid.

[2] Braun and Edwards, ibid.

F. Nursery Schools and the Depression

By 1933, there were 1700 nursery schools in the United States. The nursery school "movement" received national support when the Works Progress Administration, in order to employ teachers, nurses, and other people-helpers out of work, began to train staff and pay for nursery schools. The 1933-34 Report of the National Advisory Committee on Emergency Nursery Schools explained that the goals of the program of nursery school support were "to combat physical and mental handicaps being imposed on young children incident to current economic and social difficulties."[1] The Federal Government also donated to nursery schools surplus foods that were by-products of the economic support of farmers. Over 75,000 children age two to five shared in the nursery school program.[2]

Federal support for nursery school, by increasing the number of persons connected with nursery schools, helped put ideas of early childhood education firmly in the public mind. At the end of the second year of the program a survey of the 3,775 teachers employed showed that only 158 had previous nursery school experience, 290 had kindergarten experience, and over 2400 (64%) had taught previously. Networks of training and supervision programs, carefully planned and rapidly established, brought the ideas of nursery school workers of the 1920s, to thousands of teachers. In Boston, Abigail Eliot set up the successful New England Regional Training Program.

The curriculum of the 1930's nursery schools was based on 1920's thinking and work in child study and child development. "Self-realization," "personal growth," "social adjustment," ideas that showed the influence of Freudian thought in America were key phrases of the period. Like the 1920s, for most nursery school teachers in the 1930s, play was the medium, instruction was anathema.[3]

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[1] Quoted in Braun and Edwards, ibid.

[2] Edith M. Dowley, "Perspectives on Early Childhood Education," in Robert H. Anderson and Harold G. Shane, As the Twig is Bent, pp. 15-16.

[3] Braun and Edwards, History and Theory of Early Childhood Education.

G. Day Care During World War II

World War II gave the early education/child care movement a major boost. While father went off to fight the enemy, mother went to the factory or office. Sam Braun notes in *History and Theory of Early Childhood Education* that "the needs were immediate and essential: food, rest, shelter, and a substitute mother figure while Mummy packed parachutes or worked a lathe."[1] The Lanham Act made funds available for the group care of young children whose mothers worked in strategic war industries. The most famous child care services of World War II were the centers at the Kaiser Swan Island and Oregon shipyards, directed by James K. Hymes, Jr. Open twenty-four hours a day, the centers and their staff provided multiple health, nutritional, education, and welfare services to the children and families of the shipyards. Discussing these services, Gwen Morgan gives the example of the family who drove from Iowa to the shipyards and came to the center early in the morning on their day of arrival, asking if they could leave their boy there for the day until they found housing and jobs. At 10 p.m. that night, settled and employed, mother and father returned to pick up their washed and fed and now-sleeping four-year-old.[2] In the Kaiser centers, twenty-four hour care meant that the first morning children entered the center at 6:15 a.m. and the last, graveyard shift entered at 1:15 a.m. the following morning.

Although the Lanham Act paid only for group care of young children, by May 1944 there were about 90 programs providing some sort of home-based child care in operation in the United States. A Children's Bureau Publication of 1946 explained why women worked, caring for children of other mothers: "During the war the motive was usually a real desire to contribute to the war effort coupled with a feeling on the part of the day care mother that the thing she could do best was caring for children."[3]

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[1] Braun and Edwards, *ibid*.

[2] Gwen Morgan, "A Proposal to Establish a Work Related Child Development Center," 1967, in Braun and Edwards, *ibid*.

[3] *Mothers for a Day*. U. S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 318-1946.

World War II child care gave thousands of parents and children experience with the long group care day and the warmly exciting possibilities of group experiences with young children. Teachers, nurses, directors of child care centers worked hour after hour for little pay. It was not unusual for teachers to work with groups of children from 8 a.m. to 6 p.m., caring, cleaning, playing, ministering to their needs, then go home and spend several more hours planning activities for the next day.[1] Curricular ideas were consistent with the 1920s and 1930s -- play was the dominant metaphor.

At the conclusion of the war, with the return of fathers to the jobs in factories and offices and of women to jobs in their homes, national child care shriveled. Concerns of the 1950s turned back to the simple (or not so simple) joys of motherhood; day care was no longer seen as a national need or priority since Mother was back in her Home.

H. Child Development in the 1950s

Popular theories about child development in the early 1950s remained firmly within the Freudian tradition. In 1938, Lawrence K. Frank, a gentle and guiding father of the early childhood "movement" from the 1920s to the 1960s, had spelled out what he called the "fundamental needs of the child."[2] Frustration, aggression, ventilation of feelings, he wrote, were important notions for those who worked with young children to keep in mind. This concern with the developing emotional needs of children, consistent with curricular emphasis on play, was a topic of wide public discussion among parents and teachers of young children during the early 1950's. Benjamin Spock's popular bible for parents, Baby and Child Care, with its repeated advice to let the young child learn at his or her own pace without an overabundance of adult direction further stimulated discussion of children's emotional needs.

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[1] Personal communication with Fern Clark, day care teacher in the South End Day Nursery, Boston, during World War II.

[2] Lawrence K. Frank, "Fundamental Needs of the Child," Mental Hygiene 22 (1938).

Many parents and scholars in the early 1950s thought, worried, and wrote about "healthy" child development. In 1950, addressing the White House Conference on Children, Erik Erikson spelled out a psychosocial maturationist framework for human development, with eight epigenetic stages in the human life cycle: basic trust vs. mistrust, autonomy vs. shame and doubt, initiative vs. guilt, industry vs. inferiority, identity vs. role confusion, intimacy vs. isolation, generativity vs. stagnation, and ego integrity vs. despair. Erikson's ideas continue to exert a profound influence on the child care/early education field.[1]

I. Achievement Replaces Adjustment

The launching of Sputnik in 1957 propelled a major shift in elementary and preschool education in the United States. Americans began a "frantic search for reasons why American children were behind the Russians in academic achievement. The pressure for maximal utilization of our intellectual resources jolted the entire educational system and resulted in attempts to teach academic subjects to younger and younger children."[2] The late 1950s and early 1960s rediscovered the cognitive parts of the young child's mind. The work of the French psychologist, Jean Piaget, since the 1920s a disciplined student of young children, spurred examination of children's thought processes having to do with reasoning, rationality, and concept formation.

In the early 1960s, notes Braun, quite like "play" in the nursery school and child study movements that began in the 1920s, "the time had come to embrace the idea of intellectual stimulation."[3] Two major works, J. McVicker Hunt's Intelligence and Experience (1961) and Benjamin Bloom's Stability and Change in Human Characteristics (1964) suggested that careful preschool intervention could greatly enhance a child's intelligence.[1] Writing early in the 1960s, Urie Bronfenbrenner, a psychologist concerned with socialization, suggested that for many educators and child-rearers, achievement had replaced adjustment as the highest goal of American life.[2]

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[1] Benjamin Spock, Common Sense Book of Baby and Child Care (New York: Dell, 1946). Erik Erikson, Childhood and Society (New York: Norton, 1950). Dowley, "Perspectives on Early Childhood Education," p. 17.

[2] Dowley, ibid., p. 17.

[3] Braun and Edwards, History and Theory of Early Childhood Education.

J. The Birth of Head Start

The New Frontier brought the stark realities of the daily poverty experienced by millions of children, women, and men once again to American consciousness. The combination of the social rediscovery of the "mind" of the child, psychological studies that suggested that environment was critical to the development of intelligence and that the early years might be the key to child development, the worries of many Americans that their children were falling behind and were not learning enough at school, a growing awareness of the extent of poverty in the United States, and the commitment of the federal government to guarantee "equal opportunity" for black and white, rich and poor, lower, middle, and upper class children, led to the implementation in 1965 of a national preschool intervention program: Project Head Start. In the summer of 1965 over half a million children who had never before attended school were enrolled in programs which provided medical, dental and educational services. In the years that followed Head Start expanded to a full-year program.[3]

The Head Start Program directed by Dr. Julius Richmond quickly became the most popular part of President Johnson's "War on Poverty." Head Start began with seven stated objectives:

1. Improving the child's physical health and physical abilities.
2. Helping the emotional and social development of the child by encouraging self-confidence, spontaneity, curiosity and self-discipline.
3. Improving the child's mental processes and skills with particular attention to conceptual and verbal skills.

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[1] J. McVicker Hunt, Intelligence and Experience (New York: Ronald, 1961); Benjamin Bloom, Stability and Change in Human Characteristics (New York: John Wiley, 1964).

[2] Dowley, "Perspectives on Early Childhood Education," p. 18.

[3] Dowley, ibid.

4. Establishing patterns and expectation of success for the child which will create a climate of confidence for his future learning efforts.
5. Increasing the child's capacity to relate positively to family members and others while at the same time strengthening the family's ability to relate positively to the child and his problems.
6. Developing in the child and his family a responsible attitude toward society and fostering constructive opportunities for society to work together with the poor in solving their problems.
7. Increasing the sense of dignity and self-worth within the child and his family.[1]

Project Head Start was designed for children from families without money who seemed to need "more" than they got from their homes--more food, medical care, verbal stimulation. Brought together in groups of ten to twenty, usually for five half-days a week, these children received a supplemental (and hopefully preventive) boost before entering the elementary grades. Early Head Start programs largely followed nursery school models of the 1950s. However, the influence of research on cognition and intelligence soon made itself felt in Head Start, so heavily felt that "those who believed in the importance of play in early childhood now found themselves having to defend it."[2] Child psychologists and early childhood specialists developed teaching models and curricula designed to raise the intelligence of young children, models and curricula which, it was hoped, would lead to better school performance and ultimately increased earnings and more successful life outcomes for the children. Although cognitive increases were not the sole goals, and although educational programs designed to increase intellectual and verbal skills were only a part of Project Head Start, concerns with IQ and school achievement, based on the premise that early intervention would lead to increased probabilities for school success, remained central to much Head Start philosophy.

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[1] Evans, Contemporary Influences in Early Childhood Education, p. 65.

[2] Dowley, "Perspectives on Early Childhood Education," p. 19.

K. The "Compensatory Movement"

Parallel to and often part of the Head Start Program in the late 1960s in America was the development of the "compensatory movement," a series of programs (usually half-day) based on current psychological theory and research (often cognitive psychology). These programs aimed to increase the academic performances and rates of school success of low income children. Many preschool compensatory educators designed special "learning environments" for children considered "disadvantaged" and worked to raise IQ scores, self-images, feelings of control over environment, and to improve the children's verbal, mathematical, and social skills. Well-known among compensatory programs in the late 1960s were Bereiter and Engleman's "Academically Oriented Pre-School," David Weikart's "Perry Pre-School Project," Glen Nimnicht's "Responsive Environment," Herbert Sprigle's "Learning to Learn" program. In 1968 the Office of Economic Opportunity, home of the Head Start Program until 1969 (when it was moved to the newly created Office of Child Development) initiated a series of Head Start Planned Variations--12 projects, each with a different curricular orientation, designed to test which programs were most effective in fulfilling Head Start objectives. Also in 1968 the Follow Through Program, an effort to provide enriched school environments for Head Start "graduates," was initiated by the Office of Economic Opportunity.

Compensatory education and a goodly portion of Project Head Start derives from the belief that lower income groups in America can not or do not prepare their children adequately for success in school, and thereby later success in adult life. Observers and researchers in the early 1960s saw child after child from low income families (often black), many times speaking other than standard middle class English, flail and fail in public school classrooms. Many of these children seemed to come to school hungry, poorly motivated, ill-cared for, unprepared for the melange of verbal and cognitive experiences they faced in the elementary school classroom.

There are at least three strategic assumptions in the compensatory analysis:

Assumption 1: Primary effort should go to change the child, and through her or him, the family and the larger environment.

Assumption 2: Families without money, differing substantially in style and/or structure from the nuclear family model, need help. Children from such families are "disadvantaged," "deprived," "impoverished," compared to more affluent children. Parents from low income families often do not possess the skills and motivations necessary for economic success in the 1960s and 1970s in America.

Assumption 3: Achievement in the public schools on standardized tests is a good predictor of later economic performance, and economic performance is equated with successful life outcome.

It is not clear whether or how these assumptions behind compensatory preschool programs contribute to maintaining the problems and conditions that the programs aim to change. What, for example, is the effect on a group of people or on a child of being labelled "disadvantaged," being seen as a "target," "aimed" at by an "intervention" program? Evidence linking achievement in elementary grades to "life success" is currently, at best, scanty.

Some observers have begun to question the cultural superiority that they find implied in many compensatory programs. Baratz and Baratz point out that often in compensatory programs the fact that the low income black child has a highly abstract, conceptualized language of his or her own has often been ignored.[1] William Labov reports that low income black children, who formerly scored at low intelligence levels when given standard I.Q. tests by a white tester, were found to be bright and verbal when visited by a young black man who played with them, talking with them in Black dialect about their own lives.[2]

At the level of public policy, some analysts have questioned the rightness of the assumption that individuals should be changed ("moulded") to fit the dominant social institutions. Lazerson writes:

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[1] Stephen S. Baratz and Joan C. Baratz, "Early Childhood Intervention: The Social Science Base of Institutional Racism," in Robert H. Anderson and Harold G. Shane, As the Twig is Bent.

[2] William Labov, "The Logic of Non-Standard English," in James E. Alatis, ed., Report of the Twentieth Annual Round Table Meeting on Linguistics and Language Studies (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1970), pp. 1-45.

> Americans, as we are acutely aware, have tended to see their commitment to the schooling of the young as a reaffirmation of their faith in the future, an optimistic belief that in the child lies the well-being of society. Both the kindergarten movement at the turn of the century and the pre-school programs of today assert that faith. There is, I suggest, an alternative hypothesis. Early schooling for the child of poverty may represent an abdication of the present, an implicit statement that society is unwilling to grapple with the immediate issues of discrimination and poverty, but would rather postpone confrontation to a later date, naively expecting not to have to face the issues at all. Placing the child in school is an excellent means for achieving that postponement.[1]

L. Evaluation of Preschool Compensatory Programs

Head Start and compensatory programs have been subjected to heavy doses of evaluation. In a recent review of research, Annie Butler writes, "One would have to state unequivocally that research on the value of early childhood education is very inconclusive; that if one must always have predictable outcomes of a program in order to accept it as worthwhile, we do not as yet have such evidence."[2]

There are at least four major kinds of problems with evaluation of preschool compensatory programs: definitions of success, conceptual validity, measurement validity, and reliability and comparability. Program operators, parents, researchers, legislators do not agree on what constitutes success. Is Head Start successful only if thousands of children, as a result of their experiences in the program, break out of the "poverty cycle"? Does a median IQ score gain of 15 points constitute success? Is success one lonely child helped to gain control of a chaotic life situation?

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[1] Lazerson, "Social Reform and Early Childhood Education," p. 33.

[2] Annie L. Butler, Current Research in Early Childhood Education (Washington, D.C.: American Association of Elementary-Kindergarten-Nursery Educators, 1970), p. 145.

A second problem is conceptual validity: Researchers do not agree on what they want to measure. Although a vast body of literature exists on IQ tests, no theoretician or researcher has yet explained adequately the concept of "intelligence." What is "cognition"? "self-image"? "emotional growth"? How do these ideas relate to the lives of children and grownups ?

Both measurement validity and reliability are notoriously low in tests for preschool children. Given that there is an agreed-upon goal, or characteristic, how should it be measured? How does one measure "self-esteem" in a four-year old? Reliability problems are numerous in testing young children. Children given a test one day may score quite differently on the same test one week later.

A fourth problem in the evaluation of preschool programs is comparability. Where a program has been evaluated, it is often in terms, tests, concepts, and design quite unlike those of a similar program, and it is difficult to compare and tell which is "better".

The state of the art of evaluation of preschool children and/or programs is still quite primitive. To many observers, it seems that currently what is measurable is often insignificant, and what might be significant is yet unmeasurable. But in spite of the many and recognized problems in evaluation of preschool compensatory programs, in recent years many researchers have presumed to try to measure effects of various forms and kinds of preschool interventions. Overall evidence on the effects of preschool compensatory education on later school achievement is disappointing. For example, using mainly cognitive criteria (such as the Illinois Test of Psycholinguistic Abilities, the Metropolitan Readiness Test, and the Stanford Achievement Test), the Westinghouse-Ohio Evaluation of Head Start found only selected cognitive gains in children in full-year programs.[1] Butler notes that "Even the most carefully planned intervention programs do not bring the lower class child to the intellectual level of the middle class child."[1] Most cognitive gains that are statistically significant appear to "wash out" by the end of the first grade.[2]

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[1] Evans, Contemporary Influences in Early Childhood Education, p. 71.

But it is premature to conclude that since researchers are not able to measure the effects of these preschool programs, there are no effects, or that preschool compensatory programs have not worked. While it seems highly unlikely that compensatory programs or any educational intervention in the earliest years of life will be shown to be the single or several keys to change conditions of poverty, unequal opportunity, or personal or economic or social failure, there are still many significant unasked questions about programs for young children. What are the effects of regular, loving half-day or full day care and education in a preschool setting on young children, the effects of comprehensive preventive and therapeutic medical, nutritional and social services (offered by some Head Start, Parent-Child Center, and day care programs) on the growth and development of children and families? What are the effects on parents of regular half-day or full day child care, of the feeling that "someone else also cares for my child"?

M. Summary

Two principal themes run through the growth and development of programs for young children in the past hundred years: the increasing awareness that young children are responsive to their immediate environments -- affected by and affecting the people and things around them--and the hope and belief that young children are--in Patty Smith Hill's words--"the one great hope," that programs for young children today signal a better tomorrow. Each theme, multiple and powerful in its own way, is staunchly present in current debates about the care and education of young children.

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[1] Butler, ibid., p. 146

[2] Carl Bereiter, "An Academic Preschool for Disadvantaged Children: Conclusions from Evaluation Studies." Paper presented at Johns Hopkins University, February, 1971.

Awareness of young children showed itself in the kindergarten movement, in the grace and dedication of persons from Elizabeth Peabody to Abigail Eliot to Lawrence Frank to James Hymes to Gwen Morgan to Julius Richmond, who have worked with and fought for programs for young children. Voluminous data have been collected, theory after theory propounded, styles of working with children, of raising children have ebbed and flowed through the days and years. Braun notes that for much of this century "play has been considered the crux of the preschool experience."[1]

Current cries for "educational components" and "comprehensive developmental care" must sometimes sound strange to pioneers who believed that self realization and personal growth came best through supervised play. It is not yet clear how much of the hullabaloo of the 1960s centering around cognitive and verbal skills will evaporate with the passage of time and exactly how much and what kind of residue will remain. Too many programs of the 1960s appealed to flashiness and gimmickry, attempting to draw on the wizardry of technology and the space age to stimulate human growth and development. Interest and understanding in young children still grows apace, although the balloon of the once-and-for-all magic of the first four or six years of life has been popped for many students of children and society.

While it seems true that if children do not get enough or adequate nurturance and response during their early years, they may be damaged or proceed slower toward full development of their abilities, it is doubtful that any kind of "educational" program during the first few years of life by itself will cause children to turn out significantly different over many years from children not in the program. Commenting on an intervention program that uses psychological learning theory to change the behavior of low-income children, Jerome Bruner makes an important point about programmatic psychological and education intervention:

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[1] Braun and Edwards, History and Theory of Early Childhood Education.

> It is taken for granted that the environment is alterable and that what one does in school is separable from what one does outside of school. But if the sense of powerlessness in poverty cultures results from a cultural patterning of stimulus events that is fixed by economics, say, it can easily swamp the manipulations of the behavior modifiers. Rather than try to control contingencies of reinforcement by the expedient of stopwatch and clipboard, one might better encourage the community from which the child comes to take militant or revolutionary action to break the culture pattern. But the latter is usually not regarded as within the compass of psychological intervention. Is the psychologist only the servant of his discipline?[1]

To many students of children and society, the evaluations that show few lasting effects on children in preschool intervention programs for low-income children came as no surprise. The multiple cultural, social, genetic, and psychological factors affecting any child's life are not easily manipulated by preschool programmatic intervention.

While awareness of the depth and responsiveness of our youngest generations has grown and mellowed, matured and been rediscovered in the past hundred years in America, the belief that programs for young children can be powerful levers for social change has remained, to some, discouragingly constant. Though few would argue that services for young children--either in 1872 or 1972--are not a good idea, many have expected and hoped that giving three- and four-year-olds special services would make significant differences in their lives--even if the children remained in living conditions deemed inadequate, continued beyond preschool to often dispirited and rigid elementary and secondary schools, meeting discrimination and rejection at many points along their paths.

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[1] Jerome Bruner, "Overview of Development and Day Care," in Edith H. Grotberg, ed., Day Care: Resources for Decisions (Washington, D.C.: Office of Economic Opportunity, n.d.), p. 94.

It may be quite painful but in the long run beneficial for taxpayers and legislators living in the 1970s to grapple with the seemingly harsh reality that programs for young children, while often warm and joyous, do not and cannot by themselves make fundamental changes in society.

II. NOTES ON GROUP PROGRAMS FOR INFANTS AND TODDLERS

The care of our very youngest generations (children 0-2-1/2) has been and is a subject of intense controversy among child care professionals, parents, and government officials. Feelings run strong on the question of group care for infants and toddlers, with opponents asserting their concerns that such care will damage children, and proponents suggesting that competently and sufficiently staffed, warm group care environments for children 0-2-1/2 can successfully meet children's developmental needs. While sincere and caring persons are found on either side of the controversy, the drift of thoughtful opinion inclines toward the position that carefully conceived group care programs for infants and toddlers should be licensed, funded, studied and encouraged to grow. It should be made clear, though, that group care is only one form of child care, appropriate for some children and families. Programs for care of young children in homes (including infants and toddlers) are discussed in Section III.

Concerns that infants will be hurt by group programs come from two distinct perspectives: 1) the literature and theory on the mother-child relationship, exemplified by the work of John Bowlby on attachment and separation; 2) the opinion that the group care environment is conducive to the transmission of communicable diseases, and as such, is a health hazard for young children. While, to some extent, each of these concerns is still an "open" question, recent evidence suggests that fears of either psychological or physical damage to young children in well-designed and competently staffed group care programs are unfounded.

A. Attachment and Separation

In broad outline, research on separation has suggested that the infant-mother relationship is critical for healthy development of the child and that premature "forced" separation from the mother could retard the child's development.[1] The thrust of much separation and attachment research is toward preservation of the primary mother-child bond and away from group care of infants.[2]

In an influential paper, "Infant Day Care and Attachment," Bettye Caldwell writes,

> The over-riding importance of maternal attachment for healthy development has been largely inferred rather than demonstrated. That is, infants reared in circumstances which did not permit an exclusive child-mother attachment to develop have been shown repeatedly to have deviant patterns of affective relationships with other people.[3]

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[1] See, for example, John Bowlby, Maternal Care and Mental Health, Monograph 2 (Geneva: World Health Organization, 1951). M. David, J. Nicolas, J. Roudinesco, J. Robertson, J. Bowlby, "Responses of Young Children to Separation from Their Mothers," Courrier Du Centre International De L'Enfrance, Vol. II (1952): 131-142. John Bowlby, Attachment and Loss, Vol. I, Attachment (New York: Basic Books, 1969.

[2] For a response to this position see: Leon J. Yarrow, "Maternal Deprivation: Toward An Empirical and Conceptual Re-evaluation," Psychological Bulletin, Vol. 58, no. 6 (1961): 459-490.

[3] Betty N. Caldwell, et al.,"Infant Day Care and Attachment." Paper presented at the 46th Annual Meeting of the American Orthopsychiatric Association, April 1, 1969.

Much of the research on the destructive care of children raised in groups are studies of institutional care.[1] Caldwell notes that group day care of infants differs markedly from institutional care:

> Characteristics of institutional children that day care children do not share--prolonged family separation, a sameness of experience, absence of identity, isolation from the outside world, often no significant interpersonal relationship--undoubtedly far outweigh the one characteristic that the groups have in common [children in groups].[2]

Her conclusion is firm,

> The social concern has been that infant day care would weaken the child-mother attachment: our data have shown that such does not appear to be the case...what they do show is that one can have infants in day care without having jeopardized the child's primary emotional attachment to his mother.[3]

A study published in 1948 sheds further light on some of the popularized "deleterious" effects of group programs for young children. In her study, Netta Glass compared British children cared for in day nurseries in 1944 with children cared for at home by mothers. Her conclusions, though tentative, were and still are suggestive:

> The numbers of children with habit disturbances and of problem children were found to differ only slightly in the two groups; and since the disadvantageous environmental factors were more numerous for nursery children than for home children,

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[1] See, for example, Rene Spitz, "Hospitalism: an inquiry into the genesis of psychiatric conditions in early childhood," The Psychoanalytic Study of the Child, Vol. I (New York: International Universities Press, 1945); and Sally Provence and Rose C. Lipton, Infants in Institutions (New York: International University Press, 1962).

[2] Caldwell, "Ifant Day Care and Attachment."

[3] Ibid.

> there was no evidence to suggest that children cared for in a day nursery are more likely by reason of communal care to present developmental problems than are children cared for at home by their mothers. There was, in addition, no confirmation of the belief that nursery care for children under two is especially harmful.[1]

Writing in 1954, Margaret Mead criticized those who heavily defended the "necessity" of the mother-child tie,

> At present, the specific biological situation of the continuing relationship of the child to its biological mother and its need for care by human beings are being hopelessly confused in the growing insistence that child and biological mother, or mother surrogate, must never be separated, that all separation even for a few days is inevitably damaging, and that if long enough it does irreversible damage. This...is a new and subtle form of antifeminism in which men--under the guise of exalting the importance of maternity--are tying women more tightly to their children than has been thought necessary since the invention of bottle feeding and baby carriages. Actually, anthropological evidence gives no support at present to the value of such an accentuation of the tie between mother and child.[2]

In sum, then, there is considerable and growing evidence that, at the least, infants and toddlers are not damaged by well-staffed, adequately funded group care programs. In addition, recent research suggests that in a mother-child relationship, "quality" of care is more important than "quantity" of care.[3] The belief that the best route to child development is nearly constant care by mother is largely unsupported.

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[1] Netta Glass, "Eating, Sleeping, and Elimination Habits in Children Attending Day Nurseries and Children Cared for at Home by Mothers," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 19 (1949): 697-711.

[2] Margaret Mead, "Some Theoretical Considerations on the Problem of Mother-Child Separation," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 24 (1954): 471-483.

[3] Judith Rubenstein, "Maternal Attentiveness and Subsequent Exploratory Behavior in the Infant," Child Development 38 (1967): 1089-1100.

B. Health

Concern for children's health used to be a major block to programs for infants and toddlers. If children were cared for in groups, it was feared, communicable diseases could easily spread, with resulting injury to the children. Evidence that those most knowledgeable do not now believe that such fears are well-founded comes from the recent publication of "Standards for Day Care Centers for Infants and Children Under Three Years of Age" by the American Academy of Pediatrics. In testimony before the Senate Finance Committee, Dr. Donald C. Smith, chairman of the Academy's Committee on Legislation, expressed the Academy's view that quality child care should be available to all children, and that there is an "urgent need" to expand child-care programs throughout the couuntry, including programs for children under three.[1]

C. Reliable and Competent Care

Experimental programs for infants and toddlers are now in operation across the country. Many, both those that care for children in centers and those that aim to educate parents of young children in their own homes, are based on the compensatory mold, following the reasoning that the way to produce maximum cognitive gain for "disadvantaged" children is to work with them from infancy upwards. The assumptions in the compensatory model have been discussed in the previous section.

The great bulk of programs now in planning or early operational stages take off from the idea that the central purposes of programs for our youngest children are to provide warm, consistent, reliable care that meets the needs of the child and her or his family.

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[1] Testimony of Dr. Donald C. Smith before the Senate Finance Committee, September 24, 1971.

Successful program operators point out that thousands of infants are shuffled from irregular home care arrangement to arrangement, and suggest that the needs of many children might better be met through the loving care of a well-staffed child care center. Stories, some real, some imagined, of infants left unattended, of feeding, cleaning and attention schedules that vary enormously day by day, of parents and caretakers often too harried to meet the needs of their children, lead to the conclusion that for many children and families provision of programs for the care of infants and toddlers may greatly assist the family in its child-rearing activities.

No one suggests that it is better for a child to be poorly cared for in a center than poorly cared for in a home. That is, programs for infants and toddlers will be, like all programs for children, as good as are the grownups who work as caretakers. Programs for infants, because they are center-based, are neither intrinsically better nor worse than other forms of care. But compared to the chaotic daily arrangements of thousands of infants and toddlers, well-funded, warm, competent center care is often a desirable alternative.

D. Questions for Study

Several questions central to the operation of any center-based program for children apply to programs for infants and toddlers. Questions of staffing, conditions of employment, curricular orientation, levels of funding, organization and direction of the program, parent involvement are critical to successful operation of the infant and toddler day care program (see Chapter Four, Section IV).

Certain questions, unique to the operation of programs caring for children under two and a half or three, need immediate and detailed study. What, for example, are the effects of different staff-child ratios on the children and staff in an infant care program? The best current estimates (those proposed in the Draft Rules and Regulations for Infant and Toddler Day Care Nurseries written by the Division of Family Health Services, Department of Public Health, in April 1970) are one staff member to four children, and some child care professionals strongly urge even lower ratios.

What are the effects of different staffing arrangements on infants? Since most caretakers in a center program spend no more than six hours caring for the children, and many children spend at least eight hours a day in the center, how much time should particular staff plan to spend with particular children? Should a caretaker have particular responsibility for relationship with several designated children or should relationships and responsibilities be "free floating"?

What are the effects of different grouping arrangements? The needs of children 0-12 months differ from those of children 12-30 months old. Children who are learning to speak need grownups who will talk to them. What arrangements work best for pre-verbal and which for beginning verbal children? How should toilet training be handled in the center? What are effective ways to involve parents in making the decisions that affect their children? These are important questions, needing careful study as programs for infants and toddlers continue to grow.

E. The Elements of Care

Since many new programs for infants and toddlers will be conceived and born in the 1970s, it seems wise to review the basic elements of "good" care considered essential in any child care environment by parents and experts on children. There are three main points here. A growing young child needs:

1) prompt, regular and caring attention to his or her physical and psychological needs.

2) a responsive, person-animated environment.

3) at least one consistent relationship with a trustworthy grownup over time.[1]

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[1] See, for example, Urie Bronfenbrenner,"Developmental Research and Public Policy," Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, n.d., No. F-1911.

Studies being planned or in progress may help us answer questions of which children thrive with which kinds of care and relationship. The involvement of men with young children has yet to be fully explored and developed.

Sibylle Escalona adds another key dimension to environments for very young children. Speaking at a conference, "On Rearing Infants and Young Children in Institutions" in 1966, Dr. Escalona noted,

> I have come to think that caretaking people will be more effective as well as perhaps more satisfied individuals if their job can be built in such a way that they are not limited and, at the same time, committed to one task only--to care for children for a specified period of time.[1]

Programs for infants and toddlers are needed and are being developed. Well-designed, competently staffed, parent-involved, well-funded programs for the care of our youngest can provide options for families and help them fulfill their child-rearing responsibilities. Like other child care programs, infant and toddler day care can help us ask and answer the fundamental questions raised by all programs for the care and education of the young, "How can we live together more gently, more joyfully, caring for each other?"

III. HOME-BASED PROGRAMS

Much of the energy for formation and operation of programs for young children does and has come from persons concerned with the institution of the family. While trends toward professionalism in child care and early education, especially in the 1960s, sometimes acted to disenfranchise parents ("teacher knows best") by and large programs for young children, from 1880 kindergartens to World War II day care centers, to Head Start classrooms, to current child care projects, have kept primary the objective of supporting parents in their child rearing. Child care and early education programs, then, may be seen in the larger perspective of family care and family support.

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[1] Sibylle Escalona, "Developmental Needs of Children Under Two-and-a-Half Years Old," in On Rearing Infants and Young Children in Institutions, Children's Bureau Research Reports No. 1 (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1967), p. 12.

There are at least several ways of categorizing the panoply of programs, arrangements, and approaches lumped under the wide umbrella of child care and early education. This section will describe home-based programs such as family day care homes, family day care systems, mixed home-care, center-care systems, and home visiting programs. The next section will deal with center-based care: curricular approaches to care and education of young children and the day care center environment. There are now no one or even several "right" ways to raise young children, no across-the-board "best" arrangements or kinds of care and education. The aim of these sections is to acquaint the reader with the present possibilities for programs for young children.

Home-based child care, often called family day care, is regular care for children in a home other than their own home or care in their home by someone who does not live in the home. Four types of home-based child care and support are discussed: (1) family day care homes; (2) family day care systems; (3) mixed, home care, center care systems; and (4) home visiting programs.

A. Family Day Care Homes

Family day care homes are homes that regularly care for children other than those who live in the home. For example, one family day care home, that of a retired couple, cares for six children age eight to fourteen, before and after school. Another prevalent and popular kind of family day care home is that of a mother who cares for her own plus a few other children daily while other mothers work in out-of-home jobs. Still another type of family day care home is the one where parents who work the evening shift drop off their children for supper plus some sleep before returning to fetch them after work. As currently practiced in Massachusetts, almost always unlicensed, family day care homes are as diverse and varied in their forms, hours, and fees as are the needs for child care in the Commonwealth.

Family day care homes are usually close to the parental homes, thus meeting the desires of many families for child care in their neighborhood. Such closeness may reduce the isolation of some families and occasionally provides a focus for neighborhood gathering. Family day care can accommodate infants as well as toddlers and preschoolers, and for many families this factor makes family day care more desirable than child care in a center. A family with a two-year-old and a four-year-old in which both parents work outside of the home often may best meet its child care needs through a family day care home. Few day care centers in Massachusetts enroll children under 2-3/4 years old, so the parents who place their four-year-old in a center must still find care for the younger child.

Many adults who enjoy children do not want and/or are unable to work in child care centers. Family day care should enable them to do work which can be enjoyable and remunerative in their own homes. Family day care could provide increased education and training in areas such as child development, health care, human relations--with wide and significant spillover into other life areas, such as family life and job mobility.

The distinction between the kinds of services and benefits family day care could provide as a supported form of child care and the daily realities of thousands of family day care homes operating informally, unrecognized, often isolated, is significant. Unsupported, family day care can be another form of drudgery reserved primarily for women, a job utilizing a supply of cheap and underpaid labor at a time of great need and increasing demand for quality child care services.

* * *

A Typical Day in Family Day Care

What are the daily activities of a "typical" family day care mother or father? (The vast majority of family day care parents are now women and usually mothers, though there is little research evidence or theoretical basis why this need be the case. It is that as employment patterns and social attitudes continue to change, more men will care regularly for young children. Family day care, then, while now primarily a concern and task for women, becomes both a man's and a woman's enterprise.) A typical morning starts at 7:30 when Billy and Todd, ages two and four years, are dropped off at Mrs. Rosewater's house on Mother's way to work: one-half hour later, three-year-old Sally and five-year-old Mike and Amy arrive. Each child enters to a breakfast of juice, hot cereal, and milk. While Mrs. Rosewater does the dishes (assisted by the older children), the others wander around the kitchen, winding up in a small room Mrs. Rosewater has arranged for a children's playroom. Sally busily builds with a Lego set, Billy and Todd half-heartedly begin to play fisherman.

Throughout the day, Mrs. Rosewater watches over and plays with the children, soothing a bumped feeling, directing a child into a game or activity, arbitrating a minor dispute over the TV. While caring for the children, Mrs. Rosewater cleans house, receives a neighbor over to chat, talks on the phone with a variety of friends, weeds the garden, and continually cleans, feeds and ministers to a changing assortment of active, messy, cheery, crying young children. The work is strenuous, sometimes boring, often uneventful. Aside from talking to her neighbor and several friends, Mrs. Rosewater spends little time during the day with other grownups. When in need, she calls her aunt, a woman "who successfully raised two families."

At 4:30 Billy's and Todd's dad stops by, talks briefly with Mrs. Rosewater about the weather and the day and takes the boys home. An hour later Sally's and Amy's mothers pick up their children. And finally, at 6:00, Mike's mom, late again and apologetic, comes to get her son.

* * *

An isolated and informal day care home like Mrs. Rosewater's may be a basically adequate child care arrangement, convenient to parents, low cost, a safe environment, and right hours, with little attention to some of the child's needs. Some family day care homes like this give their children vital and loving contact with adults other than the children's parents, supervised experiences with playmates of a like age, warm, responsive, stimulating environments, needed preventive and therapeutic physical care. A family day care home may become very important to a child, the day care parents playing central roles in his or her life--providers of food, clothing, shelter, a special hug during a tough day, a surprise popsicle in the middle of a hot afternoon, a warm and gentle bath for the little one who feels sad.

But there are obvious and severe problems with the reality of many family day care homes. Child care is hard work--physically and emotionally exhausting. Family day care can be a tiring, desperately lonely, grossly underpaid experience. These fundamental problems with many family day care homes stem in part from the potential for isolation. Whom to call when a child gets ill? Whom to talk to about feeling very angry at Billy? New toys are so expensive. What's best for the kids? "Can I ever get some free time? or even just some quiet?" Mending and nursing and bookkeeping and playing and scheduling and mopping up and cuddling and cooking and cleaning...and sometimes screaming, shouting, tears, broken plates, toys, feelings. And all too often little payment and little or no thanks.

There are real, and imagined, abuses in family day homes in Massachusetts. There are stories of the lady who kept sixteen preschoolers locked in her basement face to face with the television all day every day, of the woman with five children who advertised in the newspaper, "child care, 24 hours, all ages, $1.50 a day" (and was swamped by calls), of the housewife who "goes out a lot," leaving three infants to be cared for by her five-year-old daughter.

Nevertheless, there are enough advantages to the basic idea of family day care for it to be explored further and developed so that good family day care becomes one of several options available to parents. The following sections describe some of the ways[1] family day care can be developed.

B. Family Day Care Systems

A blossoming response to the needs and desires of parents for home-based child care is the family day care (FDC) system. For parents with young children who seek care in a home setting, a family day care system can often meet the family's needs for consistent, quality care for the children that is close to home and for the hours most needed by the family. Family day care systems offer parents and providers both choice and connection. An adult who chooses to join a typical FDC system may choose to go for work or training outside her/his home or to become a family day care parent and be paid to work caring for children in her/his own or another's home. In either case the grownup is connected to a caring and supportive network of persons concerned with child and family care.

While family day care systems come in many sizes and colors, here is a sketch of a basic shape.

A person who needs or wants to provide child care contacts the family day care system and is met, interviewed, and advised about the system. If the grownup wants to find care for her or his children and is invited to join the system, she or he is contacted by an educational aide who introduces her or him and the children to a family day care parent (ideally one who lives close by the user's home). If all agree, the parent goes off to work or training, and the children are cared for in the home of the family day care parent.

Some family day care programs give every participating grownup the option of becoming a family day care parent and caring for children in his/her or someone else's home or, either working outside the home or entering a training program. For parents who desire care for their children so that they may work outside their home, family day care systems often provide career counseling and job placement services.

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[1] See June Sale and Yolanda Torres, "I'm Not Just A Babysitter, A Descriptive Report of the Community Family Day Care Project, Pacific Oaks College, Pasadena, California, 1971.

If the person wants to become a family day care parent, and is invited to join the system, she or he attends a week-long training session and thereafter weekly in-service training meetings. Family day care parents are usually, though not necessarily "real" parents and more often are women than men. Each day care parent is assigned an educational aide who visits the home at least weekly, spending four to eight hours a week with the day care parent and children--listening, teaching, playing, taking parents and children on a field trip, giving the parent some companionship and perhaps some needed free time.

Central to the family day care system are its educational activities. During the week-long pre-service orientation course (the family day care parent's children are cared for by system staff members), the day care mother or father is introduced to a variety of materials, activities, information and skills about nutrition, health and first aid, child development, family relations, games and toys. Weekly follow-up and in-service training sessions permit and encourage the family day care parent to move at her/his own pace, learning with peers about her/his work. The educational aide is a valuable part of this process. By providing at-home supervision, the aide can suggest to the day care parent ways of coping with Janie's tantrums, helping Cynthia get over her fear of water, building a bridge of friendship between Charles and Susan. All these educational activities contribute to the family day care parent's growing and sustained feelings of connection, that other people care, that child care work can be satisfying--a feeling of being part of a vital and care-giving organization.

There are several possible advantages for both the family day care parent and user parent to joining a family day care system. For the day care parent:

- assistance in special circumstances or emergencies is readily available. There is usually at least one system staff member (depending on size of the system) on call twenty-four hours a day, ready to receive a harried 7:00 p.m. call, "Verna hasn't come to pick up her kids yet, and I'm going out tonight. What'll I do?" If the day care parent or child is ill, there is always someone to call for advice and/or help.

- participation in an FDC system may break isolation. Women and men of all ages join with others around common child-rearing tasks.

- day care parents join education and training groups, learning on and off the job.

- the FDC system provides a regular income to the family day care parent, independent of the whimsy of particular customers. This is quite unlike the uncertainty of isolated family day care homes.

For the user parent there are similar advantages:

- There is an opportunity to find convenient, reliable, at the right hours child care; allows parents to work outside the home without constant worry about their young children.

- Job and training counselors often aid parents who want to move into the out-of-home employment world.

Family day care systems provide a welcome alternative to mothers who choose to (or must) work outside their homes and who are often forced to use unstable child care arrangement after unstable arrangement--always with the gnawing worry of harm to the children and the guilt of being a "bad" parent.

For the child, the advantages of a family day care system are consistent, loving care. The system cares for physical needs of the children, providing medical checkups, as well as preventive and therapeutic care. Nutritional consultants assist the aides and parents in learning to prepare healthful and tasty meals. Family day care parents learn about the care and education of young children through on-the-job and in-service training and are better able to meet the needs of the children in their homes.

Functions of An FDC System

There are five main functions central to the operation of a family day care system:

- recruitment of parents and staff, provision of information, and licensing of homes;
- education and training for all levels of parents and staff;
- supervision and assistance;
- administration; and
- outside contact--referral and fund-raising.

Recruitment, information and licensing. An FDC system must make its whereabouts known to potential members--family day care parents, user parents, and system staff. It must have ways of explaining its mission, purposes, and structure that are comprehensive and easily understandable.

Many times, the city or state agency responsible for licensing of child care will license the FDC system, and the system then provides a guarantee to the department and to the public that all homes will meet the public standards. Such a delegation of authority may give needed flexibility to the system as it grows and services its day care homes. Some systems use licensing to improve family day care home facilities, providing limited funds for home renovation, electrical repairs, plumbing, and painting, as part of the licensing process.

Education and training. Training is a key function, vital to the success and well-being of most family day care systems. There are usually two kinds of training, for two groups of people in the system. For family day care parents there is both preservice and in-service training: the former a brief and intensive introduction to child care essentials, the latter an opportunity to explore child care questions in depth over time. The supportive, administrative, and licensing staffs also need preservice and in-service training--some of which can be combined with the education of the day care parents. Educational aides may need training to develop and maintain skills in communication, advising, teaching, and home support; administrators may benefit from sustained contact with the concerns of others in the system.

As well as providing needed and desired skills and information, the education in a family day care system may lead to both in-system and extra-system advancement. The system can be designed with a career ladder flow so that day care mothers and fathers move into educational aide jobs and into administration of the system. Through a hook-up with a community or teacher college, a family day care system may offer credit to those in the educational programs. Perhaps, through an arrangement with the local governmental body responsible for child care and/or teacher certification, a family day care system may be authorized to grant child care certificates, transferable for work in various kinds of child care programs.

Supervision and assistance. If a family day care system is to provide support for parents and staff, adequate supervision of day care parents and educational aides is essential. For example, in one system, Mrs. Stanley, an educational aide, had responsibility for working with Mrs. Daniels, a new mother in the system. Mrs. Daniels, a woman with an unhappy and occasionally troubled past, needed constant reassurance and assistance during the first six weeks that she cared for her day care children. Mrs. Stanley received calls at all hours and frequently felt unable to help Mrs. Daniels become more secure about her new responsibilities. With the help of the other members in the educational aide supervision group and after several consultations with the psychologist who works with the family day care system, Mrs. Stanley came to understand more about herself and Mrs. Daniels, and successfully helped Mrs. Daniels remain a day care parent.

As seen in this case, the educational aide is often the safety pin in the family day care system. Each day care parent knows that there is an aide caring regularly and warmly for her or him--assistance in moving a sick child to the hospital at 4:00 a.m., comfort and courage in the face of personal tragedy, a new idea for a cooking activity, a quick word of advice to deal with an immediate need.

Administration. The importance of the director (and directors) of a family day care system for the smooth and consistent operation of the organization cannot be over-emphasized. The administrative function entails planning and coordination, budgeting, staff selection and advancement, bookkeeping and accounting, supplies, evaluation, research, and general hole-filling and trouble-shooting. Hard-working, gracious, dedicated directors instill a tone in an FDC system that can make the difference between joyful, regular service and dispirited, chaotic effort.

Outside contact--referral and fund-raising. Because family day care systems deal with many kinds of people, families, and needs, it is often desirable to connect a system member with a someone or service outside the system. A child may need specialized medical care; a father, a particular kind of career counseling; a family, occasional meetings with a psychiatric social worker. The referral function entails sensitive and successful connection between those in the system and those outside.

Some family day care systems have one steady source of funds, public or private; many others seek money and donated services from multiple sources. Fund-raising means working to convince the state legislature to allocate some of the public treasury to child care, completing a federal grant application, negotiating with the Department of Public Welfare, scheduling a visit for a prospective contributor, organizing a brochure to be sent to foundations. It is often the crucial function for survival of the system.

Size and Structure of A System

The size and structure of a family day care program are usually related. In a large program, one with several thousand parents, children, and staff, a central administrative staff may handle system-wide needs, and the actual operation of the system may be decentralized to neighborhood subcenters. These neighborhood sub-centers can be largely community controlled. Each hires its own director and administration, and sets up its own parent advisory council, hiring, recruitment, and training programs. The staff of a sub-center might consist of a director, secretarial and administrative workers, an educational supervisor, an aide coordinator, a licensor, career counsellor, and a group of educational aides and the family day care parents (see the budgets in Chapter Eight).

It may be that there are upper limits to the size of a sub-center beyond which harmonious and efficient operation is hard to achieve. Beyond a certain point a sub-center may become administratively and educationally "overloaded". Since most family day care systems are in initial stages of operation, there are probably many variations in form, size, and function which are waiting to be tried. Local needs, geographies, population, social, economic, and ethnic ties will influence the organization and operation of any size or type of family day care system.

C. Mixed, Home-Care, Center-Care Systems

The basic notion behind a mixed, home-care center-care system is to attach family day care homes to a child care center. Children, parents, and caretakers are provided the advantages of both center and home care. This kind of system can respond to changing patterns of needs and demands--of individuals, families, and communities.

There are no mixed home-care, center-care systems in the United States now in full operation although many are underway. A sketch of a hypothetical system may be useful.[1]

The hypothetical system cares for one hundred children from fifty families five days a week, up to ten hours a day, fifty-two weeks a year, and is composed of a thirty-child day care center and twenty family day care homes, each of which cares regularly for two to six children. The system's base is the child care center, situated in the middle of a densely populated urban area. Warmly furnished, the center has three group care rooms, a community lounge, a seminar room, a health room, a kitchen, storage space, work space and offices for the administrative staff of the system, and an outdoor playground.

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[1] This system is a relatively small one, included here for reasons of clarity. Its costs per child would be approximately similar to those described in Chapter Eight.

Ten of the system's children, all three to five years old, come daily to the center for full-day group care with one teacher and two aides. The children receive breakfast, lunch, naps, and snacks at the center.

Twenty children, infants and toddlers under twenty-four months old, are cared for only in family day care homes. The center is not equipped for full day care for infants, and these children's parents prefer care for them in a home environment.

Seventy children, age one to five, spend most of their time cared for in homes, but regularly (two or three or four times a week) come to the center for two and one-half to four hours of group care. For these children, the center is something like a nursery school.

The parents and staff of the Mixed, Home-Care, Center-Care System feel that they provide good care and education for children while meeting the desires of many families for a combination of home and center care. For example, three- and four-year-old Keith and Adam Compton are cared for daily in Mrs. Hudson's family day care home. Monday, Tuesday, Thursday and Friday afternoons from 1:30 to 4:00 Mrs. Hudson brings Keith and Adam (and the other three preschoolers whom she cares for) to the center where they play in a group care room with children from Mrs. Dawson's family day care home. Three days one week and two the next, Mrs. Hudson works in the group care room with the children's teacher, learning "on the job" as she plays with and observes the children. One afternoon a week she attends an in-service training course at the center, and the other one or two afternoons are open for meetings or free time.

A mixed, home-care, center-care system can provide flexible child care geared to special needs of each child and family. In the system, all children, except for twenty of the youngest, spend regular time in the center. Each child receives preventive, diagnostic, and therapeutic services as well as an opportunity to play with other children in the center's group care rooms. Three-year-old Billy, who has a minor speech problem, is observed by the system's consulting psychologist, who recommends corrective exercises to his teacher, family day care father, and parents. Mike, age four, shy and withdrawn, is regularly and gently helped to assert himself in play with other children.

Child care in a mixed home-care, center-care system usually can be arranged to suit the needs and desires of most families. Many parents want some care for their children both in a home and in a nursery school-like setting. A mixed home-care, center-care system can be a firm and reliable station for parents and people in the community to bring their child care questions, concerns and problems. The center may be the base for a variety of family care services and activities--parents' discussion groups on family life, job counselling, dissemination of information on child care and development, a well-baby clinic, a switchboard for emergency and extraordinary family and child care assistance.

Though many of the mothers and fathers who join a home-care, center-care system work outside of their homes, some grownups choose, as in family day care systems, to join as day care parents, becoming paid caretakers as well as users of service. Adults who join as family day care parents participate in a pre-service child care training course, do regular work in the center with children and teachers, learn about child care in on-going in-service seminars, receive bi-weekly visits from an educational aide, and are paid to care for from one to six young children in their or another's homes. A mixed home-care, center-care system may foster relationships among persons of all ages, reducing the loneliness and isolation of many of the people served. From a community perspective, the system can be a center for family activities, a place where different ages meet--grandparents and toddlers, adolescents and preschoolers and grownups and infants--all around the basic and universal concern with child-rearing.

D. Home Visiting Programs

A home visiting program trains and supervises persons who work with children and parents in their own homes. There are two main types of such programs: those that aim to teach the parents specific skills and those that provide child care.

Home visiting programs whose goals are parent skill acquisition are often based on assumptions that early intervention in a family's home life will aid parents and children to grow together, to learn better, to improve themselves. The National Parent-Child Center Program of the Office of Child Development has a home visiting program in which trained professionals and paraprofessionals regularly visit low income homes each week to work with mothers and fathers around the care and education of their young children. The Office of Child Development recently funded Home Start, a home-based parallel to Head Start for families with three- and four-year-old children. In a typical session a home visitor will talk with a mother while playing on the floor with an infant, noting how the child responds to a homemade sock toy, showing the mother how the child has grown since the last visit. Many home visitors also do family counselling in the home, listening to parental feelings, suggesting possible solutions to interpersonal problems. Some become trusted advisers to disorganized families who desperately need help.

The major conceptual base behind home visiting interaction programs is the idea that parent-child interaction (especially mother-child interaction) is the key to successful child development. The interchange between parents and very young children, in this view, either encourages or discourages the child from actively exploring her or his world. If low-income parents are trained to respond "correctly" to their children, it is hoped, the children will remain more curious, become more verbal, score higher on IQ tests, and succeed in school, ultimately breaking out of poverty.[1]

A secondary and not unimportant rationale given by proponents of interventionist home visiting programs is that many parents simply do not know how to care well for their children and that if these parents are taught basic child care skills, they will be better able to enjoy their children. Home visitors can teach parents about children's health and nutritional needs, about the developmental periods in a young child's life. Sometimes learning that a two-year-old girl is saying no not because she is "stubborn" but because she is learning where she ends and another person begins can help a parent feel much more comfortable (less rejected by the child, more accepting of the child).

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[1] J. McV. Hunt, "Parent and Child Centers: Their Basis in the Behavioral and Educational Sciences," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry 41, no. 1 (January 1971).

A second major type of home visiting program trains and supports persons who want to care for children in homes other than their own. Such a program may provide services ranging from a babysitting pool to a full homemaker program. Many parents who work outside their homes want their children to remain at home. Home visiting child care programs can supply trained, supervised "traveling" day care parents. Many families, also, need emergency care or assistance in their home. For example, a parent must go into the hospital and no relatives are able to help out. A home visiting child care program can send a homemaker to help in such a situation.

IV. CENTER-BASED PROGRAMS

Center-based programs for young children may differ on a number of dimensions: principal goals and purposes; hours of service; size; composition of staff; ages and backgrounds of the children; curricular approach; and type of sponsorship. This section briefly examines the variables of goals and purposes, hours of service, and curricular orientations, and then explores some possibilities and problems in the child care center environment.[1]

It may be useful to point out that many child care and early education programs can be distinguished roughly by whether they are child-centered or family-centered. Many programs are designed to meet specific needs of young children and are established principally for the sake of the children. For example, a central purpose of most nursery schools is to provide a structured environment in which three- and four-year-old children play together. The emphasis in such programs is on the growth, maturation, and play of individual children and the group. Most compensatory preschool programs are also largely child-centered. Children are selected for compensatory programs because they are thought to need special services, enrichment, a particular kind of curriculum, and/or preschool instruction. The goals center around changing the children. Kindergartens, also, are usually child-centered. Their main concerns are the development of the children in the program, and preparing children for elementary school.

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[1] See the series of booklets on day care recently published in the Child Development series by the Office of Child Development, U. S. Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare, 1971, 1972 (Airlie House).

Family-centered programs for young children often have goals that extend beyond the desired effects of the program on the children. A central purpose of a child care center, for example, may be to offer parents options for the care and education of their young children. Though daily and loving attention is paid to the activities of the child in the center, the main purpose of the program is to serve the family by caring for the child.

Another way to examine the difference between programs that are child-centered and those that are family-centered is to ask, what are the hoped-for effects of the program? In the main, formal programs such as nursery schools, compensatory preschools, and kindergartens attempt to have effects mainly on young children, while more family-centered programs such as child care centers attempt to effect the well-being of parents and siblings as well as of the children being cared for.

A. Hours of Care

Central purposes often determine the hours of service of a program for young children. If a program aims to provide child care for families in which the parents work outside the home, it usually must be open for six to ten hours a day, which means creating a significantly different environment than that of a compensatory program designed to give children short and regular doses of an enriched curriculum. The difference in mechanics and tone between a ten-hour a day child care center in which children eat breakfast, lunch, and a snack, and also nap at the center and a two and one-half hour a day play and snack nursery school is substantial for children, parents and staff. Child care centers regularly care for children more than half of their waking hours, and thus are responsible for much of the basic care and rearing of the children. Nursery school and compensatory programs are more likely to be supplemental or peripheral to the day to day lives of the children and their families. The implications of differences in hours of care on the responsibilities and activities of various programs for young children has not yet been fully explored.

B. Curricula

Curricula are structured answers to the question, how shall we spend our time together? Rochelle Mayer suggests that there are four main preschool curriculum models: the child-development approach, the verbal-cognitive model, the sensory-cognitive model, and the verbal didactic model.[1] The first model is derived from the nursery school-child study tradition, the second and fourth are products of the compensatory education movement, and the third is largely based on the work of Maria Montessori.

Child Development Model

The curriculum of the child development model is shaped around "activity areas". A typical program has a construction area with building blocks and toy trucks and animals, a housekeeping area with child-size play utensils, tables, and utilities, a painting section with an easel and a stock of water colors, a library corner with a quiet place and story books and picture books, an art area with crayons, colored paper, scissors, and glue, a space for group games and dancing, and perhaps a woodworking bench with hammers, saws, screwdrivers and other tools. There are many plants in the room, and there also may be a science section. Outside is a play area with swings, tricycles, a sandbox, and a jungle gym. Many child development curricular models are organized around activity themes such as "winter", "the fire station", "doctors and nurses", "animals", and planned trips into the community. These activities are designed to help children explore their inner and outer worlds.[1]

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[1] Rochelle S. Mayer,"A Comparative Analysis of Preschool Curriculum Models," in Robert H. Anderson and Harold G. Shane, As the Twig is Bent.

The medium of interaction in the child development model is teacher-assisted play. Teachers plan activities, arrange the areas, schedule trips, and then help children in the activities the latter choose. Most nursery schools operate on the child development model. In their beginning phases, most Head Start programs used this curriculum as "enrichment" for children from low-income families. The Bank Street School of Education's Head Start Planned Variation Model is a product of the child development tradition. Many day care centers use a child development approach in their care and education of young children.

Verbal-Cognitive Model

The materials and activities of the verbal-cognitive model are similar to those of the child development approach. In the verbal-cognitive model, the teacher takes an active role in planning activities which keep her or him in the center of attention, often talking with the children. In any activity, the teacher is constantly asking questions: "Where do fire trucks go?" "Can you point to your ears?" Classrooms in the verbal-cognitive model stress group planning, discussion and evaluation. The emphasis is on keeping the children's activities as explicitly verbal as possible, to stimulate children to talk about what they do and to increase problem solving and language skills. This model was developed for children from low-income families who were perceived to need language and cultural enrichment. An example of the verbal-cognitive model is David Weikart's Perry Preschool Project in Ypsilanti, Michigan.[1]

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[1] Mayer, ibid., p. 287.

Sensory-Cognitive Model

The sensory-cognitive model is based on the work of Maria Montessori. The emphasis is on the individual interaction of each child with specially designed materials. Each material has its own place on the low shelves in the room. Each child has his or her small rug to roll out on the floor where he or she can work with the materials. Materials are divided into three categories: those designed to develop sensory skills, those designed to aid children in learning practical life activities, and those designed to teach writing and arithmetic.[2] For example,

> The child's tactile sense is educated by way of materials which dramatize texture and form. Touchboards with surfaces ranging from rough to smooth are introduced followed by experiences with feeling various cloth materials such as wool, silk, velvet, linen, satin, and cotton. Delicacy of fondling is stressed after children have washed their hands thoroughly. Form tracing is encouraged by still another set of materials, namely, wooden tablets upon which are nested plane geometric inserts. Form identity is sought by tracing outlines of squares, circles, triangles, and the like. This tracing experience again anticipates motor movements involved in writing.[3]

Teachers stay in the background in the sensory-cognitive model. There are few activities like the art and dramatic play of the child development of verbal-cognitive models.

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[1] Mayer, ibid., p. 288.

[2] Mayer, ibid., p. 289.

[3] Ellis D. Evans, Contemporary Influences in Early Childhood Education (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, Inc., 1971), p. 34.

Although developed originally with low-income children in the slums of Rome, sensory-cognitive curricula based on Montessori's work have attracted far more interest among middle and upper class groups in America than among those in the compensatory movement. In recent years, although several compensatory educators have developed programs based on sensory-cognitive curricula, most nursery schools, compensatory, or child care programs have been child development or verbally oriented.

Verbal-Didactic Model

The verbal-didactic approach, designed exclusively to be used with children considered "disadvantaged", is based on a behaviorally-oriented, reinforcement model of learning. Children are both given direct and repeated instruction and allowed to engage in semistructured play. The children in a verbal-didactic program are grouped on the basis of ability and are taught, through intense oral drill, basic concepts of language, reading, and arithmetic.[1]

The principal goal of the verbal-didactic model is school success. Proponents argue that deliberate and direct instruction most effectively teaches children the concepts and skills they need to know to succeed in the elementary grades. Most well-known of programs using a verbal-didactic model is the Bereiter-Englemann academically oriented preschool.[2]

On criteria of frequency of teacher-child, child-material, and child-child interactions, the verbal didactic model is most closely aligned with teacher-child, the sensory-cognitive with child-material, and the child development model with child-child interaction. The emphasis of the verbal-cognitive model is fairly evenly distributed on each type of interaction. For example, the verbal-didactic model which assumes that children learn best through direct instruction depends on a high degree of teacher-child interaction. Teachers ask and children respond. A typical session in a Bereiter-Englemann program is a twenty-minute drill with a teacher quizzing four or five four-year-olds. ("Two and three is......?" "Five." "That's right, good for you.")[1]

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[1] Mayer, "A Comparative Analysis of Pre-School Curriculum Models," pp. 289-90.

[2] Carl Bereiter and Sigfried Engelmann, Teaching Disadvantaged Children in the Pre-school (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice Hall, 1966).

Schools using the child development model often have objectives focused primarily on social and emotional growth. Typical objectives include

> (a) learning to interact and cooperate with other children; (b) devellping inner controls in accordance with appropriate behaviors; (c) developing a sense of self-esteem and confidence; (d) extending abilities for self-expression and creativity in language, music and art; (e) refining perceptual-motor coordination; and (f) learning about the wider environment.[2]

The main interaction in these curricula is between child and child. Activities are set up to encourage children to play together and teachers are alert to help children when necessary.

Center-based programs for young children vary widely in their choice of curricula and activities for the care and education of the children. Curricula differ in their goals, the explicitness with which curricular goals are expressed, and the kinds of interactions deemed most important in a given approach. Some curricula are actively school oriented; children are prepared for entrance into the elementary grades, and the curriculum is designed to increase academic achievement. Other programs concentrate more on helping children get along with each other and have somewhat less highly articulated goals.[3]

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[1] Mayer, "A Comparative Analysis of Pre-School Curriculum Models," pp. 290-300.

[2] Mayer, ibid., p. 295.

[3] For more detailed description of curricula for programs for young children, most of which are based on the "compensatory model", see the forthcoming Airlie House Papers, to be distributed by the Office of Child Development, U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

C. Child Care Centers

The principal goal of most child care centers is to provide a safe, warm, responsive environment for the children who are cared for in the center and for the staff who are paid or who volunteer to work in the program. Creating and maintaining an environment in which grownups and children can live together six to eleven hours a day, five days a week, fifty weeks a year is no easy task. There are at least four areas which seem to be critical to the successful operation of a child care center: staff, curriculum, administration, and parents.

Staff

As any parent will testify, caring for young children requires enormous energy and effort. Work in a child care center is physically and emotionally demanding and draining, and often quite rewarding. For example, in a typical thirty-child center most children arrive between 6:30 and 8:30 a.m. Two or three staff welcome them, prepare breakfast, sooth any early morning woes, and set up morning activities. To some teachers, 9:00 a.m. feels like the end of a long day. Staff-child ratios for child care centers required under state licensing laws and federal guidelines recognize the demanding nature of the child care center environment, and rarely allow staff-child ratios for preschool children above 1:10.

A recent study of exemplary child care concluded that staff-child ratios (where staff includes all paid or volunteer workers) is a key indicator of the "warmth" of the center. Using an observation schedule that included measures of teacher-child and child-child interactions, the Abt Study noted that centers with low staff-child ratios (1:3; 1:5) seemed to be "warmer" than centers with higher ratios.[1]

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[1] Abt Associates, A Study of Child Care, 1970-71, 55 Wheeler Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts, April, 1971.

As well as the staff/child ratios, factors of staff selection, training, and working conditions are important to the operation of a child care center. Many centers select men and women on the basis of educational experience for the jobs at the center. Those with more education (bachelor or master's degree in early childhood education) usually get the educational director and head teacher jobs while persons with less formal education are more often employed as teacher assistants or teacher aides. There is some evidence that questions the relationship between formal educational qualifications of the staff and the "quality" of the center. For example, the Abt Study found no correlation between formal educational qualifications of staff and "warmth" of the center.[1]

Perhaps more important than the formal education background of staff is the center's in-service training program. In child care it seems to be important for staff to have opportunities to share and reflect on their experiences in the center together, to learn new activities, and to find answers to their questions about the children. Some centers employ consultants to visit and observe, and then to talk with staff; others arrange for teachers and aides to receive further training through an arrangement with a neighboring community or teachers' college.

Though little formal data has been collected yet, many parents, teachers, and directors in child care believe that it is good for centers to have both men and women staff members. A national survey of child care commissioned in 1970 by the Office of Economic Opportunity reported that only 6 per cent of the workers in child care centers--including administrators and custodians--are men.[2] In recent months and years increasing numbers of men of all ages have explored possible employment in child care. As the field of child care expands and as it becomes more socially acceptable for men to work caring for young children, the numbers of men working full or part time in child care centers will increase substantially.

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[1] Abt Associates, 1971. See also Child Welfare League of America, Child Care Workers, a study performed for the U. S. Office of Education, 1971, for a similar conclusion.

[2] Westinghouse Learning Corporation--Westat Research, Inc., Day Care Survey, 1970. April 1971, p. ix.

Working conditions in child care centers are a subject of increasing interest and concern. Centers experiment with different staffing patterns, ways of grouping children, scheduling, individual staff-child work, and the use of volunteers. In a typical fifteen-child classroom, teachers may try to schedule the day so that each staff member has at least two half hours to herself or himself for quiet time in the teachers' room. Centers use student teachers to supplement their staffs and they recruit volunteers from many parts of the community--grandmothers, businessmen, undergraduates, junior high school students--to work regularly with the children. Child care is often hard work, and down-in-the-dumps, tired staff are not the best caretakers for young children. A center with high staff morale and cohesiveness and low staff turnover is likely to provide consistently better care for its children than one with an overworked staff and a changing complement of caretakers constantly being given responsibility for the children.

Curriculum

Six-thirty a.m. to 6:00 o'clock p.m. is a long day. What should day care centers provide children? What are the best ways for children and grownups to spend time together in the center? A curriculum in a child care center can be a useful way to order time, an aid to planning and scheduling, and a guide to activities for children and teachers. Having an explicit plan, a specific curricular orientation, a framework in which to think about children's growth and behavior, may aid teachers to live and work in the child care environment.

There is little now known about "what works best" in child care centers. No definitive studies tell which curricular approach is "best" for which children. Some parents, teachers, and directors worry that many day care centers are too child-oriented, giving children the false idea that the world does and will always revolve around them. To create a more "real" environment (and to take the "child-centered" burden off the staff) teachers should be encouraged to do activities that they enjoy rather than to plan every moment of the day to meet the needs of the children. In many respects, a child care center is an extended family, one in which children and grownups live together, each to some extent caring for the other.

Administration

A Study of Child Care, 1970-71 reported that the administrator-child ratio was even a better indicator of center "warmth" and "quality" than the staff-child ratio. Almost all successful programs in the Abt Study had warm, resourceful, overworked, energetic directors. Administrator-child ratios in a "warm" center were around 1:19 for the first nineteen children, with another administrator for each additional group of twenty-five children. The administrators, and especially the director, set the tone for the operation of the center. An optimistic, caring, responsive, firm director, able to gather resources for the center and to meet the complex and changing needs of children, families, and staff, may be essential to the success of the child care center.[1] Good direction of a child care center seems to require management skills (fiscal planning, budgeting, resource mobilization and allocation), the ability to delegate authority and responsibility, a sensitivity to the dilemmas of individuals and organizations, and the capacity to work very hard.

Parents

Most child care centers are essentially family-centered organizations, established to support families in their child-rearing tasks and roles. Involvement of parents in the daily lives of their children is central to the success of the center. But largely because of the pressures on many families who use child care centers (especially families in which both parents regularly work outside their home), achieving high levels of parent participation in the daily life of the center is no easy task.

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[1] Abt Associates, 1971, Vol. I.

Robert Hess writes that there are four possible ways to involve parents in a child care center:[1] (a) parents as supporters, service givers, or facilitators; (b) parents as learners; (c) parents as teacher aides and volunteers in the classroom; and (d) parents as policy-makers and partners.

The supportive role for parents involves parents donating clerical, food-preparation, fund-raising, legal, or custodial services to the center, uninvolved in activities which directly affect their children's days in the center.

The purpose of the learner role is to improve parents' skills in family life. Learning may consist of classes, discussions, observations of the children, meetings with teachers about the children, or activities to make parents "better" parents, thereby benefiting child and family development.

Third, parents may teach in the group care room or classroom of the center, either as paid employees or volunteers. Parent-teachers may participate in a career advancement program; they are paid to learn on the job and move up a career ladder to teaching positions.

Parents may work as policy-makers, responsible solely or in part for the major decisions of the center in hiring, curriculum, admission, fund-raising and fee-setting.

The challenge for child care centers is to find ways of involving parents that meet the needs of parents, children, families, and the center. Community potluck suppers provide an evening out for the family. Fathers, sometimes shy with young children, learn to volunteer their skills in building, playing with children, and general center support. Hess sums up the literature on parents in child care centers:

> The recruitment and continued involvement of parents is a difficult and arduous process. It appears that when parents feel genuinely involved

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[1] Robert D. Hess et al., "Parent Involvement in Early Early Education," in Edith H. Grotberg, ed., Day Care: Resources for Decisions (Washington, D. C.: Office of Economic Opportunity, n.d.).

> and have a self-determined part in ongoing activities, they are likely to continue to participate and to initiate activities.[1]

V. SUMMARY

Programs for the care and education of young children, in practice and conception, are not new in the United States, and those who wish to influence public policy with regard to families and young children might profit from historical study. For example, as Lazerson points out, the goals, rhetoric, and activities of kindergarten reformers in the nineteenth century sound and appear much like those of Head Start proponents in the 1960s.[2] Large-scale child care programs are not new to the 1960s and 1970s--American experience during World War II suggests that this country can effectively support programs for young children, during times when child care and early education is high among the nation's priorities.

While historically, questions involving young children have been approached from two different theoretical, professional and bureaucratic perspectives ("social welfare" and "education"), we have concluded that the best of child development and public policy research has generated little evidence to support the reality or the usefulness of such a distinction (see Chapter Eight). Programs for young children--either home-based or center-based--provide both care and education. The important questions are not care *or* education; they are what *kinds* of care and education.

There are many forms of programs for young children now in planning, operation or conception. No one program is the "right" form of care; there are now no one or several "right" ways to rear young children. We know a good deal about what *not* to do. Children who are beaten, abused, starved, neglected, abandoned do not thrive.

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[1] Hess, "Parent Involvement in Early Education," p. 284.

[2] M. Lazerson, "Social Reform and Early Childhood Education."

In this chapter we seek to increase the options available to children and families by exploring varieties of home-based and center-based forms of care. There are a plentitude of "answers" (many not yet discovered); we hope that families and local groups will feel free to continue to try different approaches to the care and education of their young; we support a policy of "let a thousand flowers bloom".

The experience of our forefathers and foremothers teaches us much about programs for young children, and disciplined work of the past several years in psychology, education and social welfare (both research and applied projects) has contributed significantly to our understandings of young children and programs for their education and care. In the final analysis, though, we learn most about our children--their needs and capabilities--from sensitive observation and interaction with each child, him- or herself. Programs for young children and families, intelligently planned, decently funding, drawing on the hearts, minds, and experiences of the many women, men, and children who care about and are willing to learn from young children and each other, are and will continue to grow as colorful and joyous flowers in our midst.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE DEVELOPMENT OF EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION IN SCHOOLS

I. INTRODUCTION

This chapter deals with young children of school age. One of the major concerns which led to this study was the fact that although in 1967 the Department of Education required all school districts of the Commonwealth to provide kindergarten no later than September 1973, there remains today widespread uncertainty about what kindergarten should be, whether or not it should be required of all children, how it should relate to the rest of elementary school on the one hand and preschool and day care programs on the other hand.

In deciding to address both preschool child care and issues surrounding kindergarten and the early years of elementary school, we are attempting to provide a comprehensive perspective on problems of child care and early education. Nevertheless kindergarten and the first few years of schooling have a special importance since they involve nearly all children and they provide for most children their first experiences with formal educational training.

In this chapter, we address what appear to be the major educational and organizational issues concerning kindergarten and the early school years. We have indicated policy options; and where it seems appropriate, we have made specific action recommendations.

The first issue is that of the basic justification for kindergarten. Why should each school district be required to provide kindergarten? Are there research results supporting kindergarten? If kindergarten is important, should not all school-age children be required to attend kindergarten as is the case with first grade? These questions are discussed within the context of the current kindergarten requirements.

Next we examine the current status of kindergarten throughout the Commonwealth, focusing particularly on changes which have occurred over the past four years since the Board of Education decision to require kindergarten. This section examines political, administrative, and economic aspects of kindergarten implementation from 1967 to the present, characterizing those systems that have already initiated programs and those that have not, assessing the needs of those still without programs, and considering whether lack of current plans to begin the kindergarten program is a reflection of district poverty, poor planning, or disagreement with the policy.

In the third section, we focus on some policy issues concerning the mandatory age of school attendance. Should kindergarten attendance be compulsory, or should parents be able to decide for themselves whether their child should attend the program? A clear policy regarding the mandatory age of attendance is as important as a policy regarding the provision of public kindergartens, and the two issues are shown to be linked.

The fourth section includes recommendations for revising and updating the kindergarten mandate, including the provision of special assistance to districts needing to develop plans, and the criteria for granting waivers to those districts unable to meet the 1973 deadline.

The final section addresses the question of kindergarten quality and suggests strategies for reshaping the education of young children in the schools. We recommend that kindergarten be considered administratively as a part of an early elementary unit including kindergarten through third grade. Other recommendations are presented concerning the program and staffing of the early elementary grades, including teacher/pupil ratios and development of regional partnerships for training teachers and staff.

II. WHY KINDERGARTEN?

The need for kindergarten as an integral part of primary schooling is still a subject of debate, and there are recurring questions about the State Board of Education's decision to require kindergartens in all districts. The state has adopted a clear policy, and many districts have complied with it, but it is important not to ignore continuing reservations. In this section, we address them directly, looking again at the rationale for public kindergarten. The history of the definition and redefinition of kindergarten through the years, and the continuing controversies concerning its value, highlight more general issues about the criteria on which any educational program should be evaluated.

There would probably be widespread agreement with the statement that, in the end, "the effectiveness of schooling practices should be judged by the degree to which they assist the student to be adaptive with respect to extra-school tasks."[1] It is easy to think only in terms of how one year of schooling prepares children for the years of schooling that follow. But, ultimately, it is the quality of life beyond, or at least outside the school that counts. Traditionally, schooling is justified by its contribution to the student's life--in vocation or leisure--at some later time. Schooling, however, could be justified by its contribution to the student's tasks in his life here and now. These two types of justification are comparable to the psychometric distinction between predictive and concurrent validity, respectively.

We will present the problems involved in all research attempts to evaluate the predictive value of kindergarten for later school success and recommend renewed efforts to evaluate the concurrent validity of kindergarten for children's out-of-school life during the kindergarten year itself. The outcome of such evaluation efforts should help resolve many questions about what the best school experience for five-year-old children should be. Finally, we address the argument for kindergarten based on the concept of equality of educational opportunity as it stands now, in the absence of clear-cut evaluation data.

A. Evidence of Program Worth

The problem of justifying the initiation of the kindergarten program is a problem of evidence--how can we know whether kindergarten experience really is important, or makes any difference? While it is the judgment of many educators and parents that kindergarten is important, there is no unambiguous educational research to date in strong support of this conviction.

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[1] William Rohwer, "Prime Time for Education: Early Childhood or Adolescence?", Harvard Educational Review 41:3 (1971): 320.

This problem is not unique to kindergarten. It arises in the assessment of all school programs, and it must be seen in that larger context. Since the middle sixties, there has been an increasing seriousness among educational professionals about the need for fiscal accountability in the expenditure of public funds for education, and for clear outcome measures on which to evaluate specific educational programs. Attempts have been made to assess educational outcomes and their implications for equality of educational opportunity in quantitative terms.[1] During the same period, however, there has been an opposite tendency among psychologists and teachers to recognize the inadequacy of most current measures and means of evaluation, and to doubt the validity of making educational policy on the sole basis of quantitative assessments.[2] Thus, at the very time when accountability is being required, our ability to measure accountability has been thrown into serious question. The result has been confusion about the importance of quantitative data to justify either continued educational spending or the initiation of new programs.

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[1] For example, see: James S. Coleman, The Equality of Educational Opportunity (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966); Harvey Averich, Stephen Carrol, and Theodore Donaldson, Preliminary Report, What Do We Know About Educational Effectiveness? (Santa Monica, Calif.: Rand Corporation, 1971); Sheldon White, Child Development Projects for the Disadvantaged; Draft Report for HEW-OS-71-170, "Disadvantaged Child Development Cost Analysis" (Cambridge, Mass.: Huron Institute, 1971); Frederick Mosteller and Daniel Patrick Moynihan, eds., On Equality of Educational Opportunity (New York: Random House, 1972).

[2] For example, see M. C. Reynolds, "A Crisis in Evaluation," Exceptional Child 32: 585-92, 1966; Charles V. Hamilton, "Race and Education: A Search for Legitimacy," in Harvard Educational Review (eds.), Equal Educational Opportunity (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968), 187-202; Herbert Gintia, "Education, Technology and the Characteristics of Worker Productivity," American Economic Review, May 1970; Samuel Bowles, "Towards An Educational Production Function," in W. Lee Hansen, Education, Income and Human Capital (New York: National Bureau of Economic Research, 1970).

It is not surprising to see the Boston Herald-Traveler, in the summer of 1967, making this statement in an editorial on the kindergarten question:

> ....the educational value of kindergartens is by no means certain. The Kindergarten Study Committee of the Massachusetts Department of Education itself says: 'It is difficult to measure statistically the effect of a kindergarten experience on a child's life. If and when research instruments are keener and can probe deeper and with more sensitivity, it may be possible to measure the specific contributions kindergarten. makes to a child's life. It is certain, however, that inner strength, confidence and achievement result from one year of solidly satisfying living followed by another year, and another.' This does not seem an adequate argument for compulsory kindergarten.[1]

Nor is it surprising to see The Boston Globe, during the same week, expressing an opposite point of view:

> The Board should, of course, make every effort to hear the opposition out. But we find it difficult to believe that anything can be said at this late date which will offset the almost unanimous testimony of educational experts in favor of the Board's proposal....
>
> In the interest of educational equality, the Willis-Harrington report strongly recommended that a provision for universal kindergarten education be written into the law. The Legislature did not follow this recommendation, but it left the decision to the Board of Education, and the Board, acting on the unanimous recommendation of a special study committee, has now proposed to adopt the Willis-Harrington scheme.

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[1] Boston Herald-Traveler, July 27, 1967.

> It is a logical step to bring Massachusetts education abreast of current trends. We cannot afford to say 'no' to it.[1]

Three aspects of the problem of what evidence can be used to justify kindergarten deserve more detailed discussion: evidence from longitudinal research, problems in research design, and the need for studies of concurrent program benefits.

Historically, it has been assumed that long-term longitudinal research is the most significant evidence of program worth, showing whether a child's later I.Q., school achievement, socioeconomic status, or some other important lifetime outcome has been enhanced by participation in a school program. In this view, the ideal experiment would be to assign five-year-olds randomly to kindergarten and nonkindergarten groups, and watch them trhoughout a long period to see if the children who went to kindergarten actually did better on measures such as twelfth grade achievement, college admission, or adult occupational status. Since it is extremely difficult and expensive to conduct such a true long-term experimental study, experiments of this kind have been simulated retrospectively--in *post-hoc* analysis. But the effects of any one school variable such as kindergarten remain ambiguous and difficult to interpret.

The study of *Equality of Educational Opportunity* by J. Coleman *et al*.[2] is one such retrospective analysis. The *Coleman Report* suggests that differences in American public schools such as teacher skills, class size, buildings, and equipment make less difference in final levels of student achievement than the combined factors in the child's home environment. At face value, these findings make it difficult to justify any educational program, regardless of age level of children.

On the other hand, more fine-grained analysis of the Coleman data[3] suggests that kindergarten may be important, at least for certain children. For instance, in northern, urban elementary schools there were clear differences within any school between children who had gone to kindergarten and those who had not after socioeconomic status was controlled. From this data we cannot tell what caused these differences, however, and therefore we must be cautious about drawing conclusions. While we might hope that kindergarten attendance caused a permanent cognitive gain, two other causes are possible. Children who went to kindergarten may have been placed more often in higher tracks or reading groups, giving them an advantage over peers who did not attend the program; or the kind of families who were best at developing the child's cognitive abilities at home were also the kind of families who more often sent their child to kindergarten. Without further investigation and controlled experiment, the question of cause remains unresolved.

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[1] *The Boston Globe* (morning edition), July 31, 1967.

[2] J. Coleman, *et al*., *Equality of Educational Opportunity* (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1966).

[3] This analysis, done in connection with a forthcoming reexamination of the Coleman data by the Harvard Center for Educational Research, has not yet been published.

Longitudinal, quasiexperimentation is being done on the same question in the national evaluation of Project Head Start. The program is too new for us to consider long-term gains, but in the short term the evidence thus far seems to indicate that for the Head Start group of five-year-olds from poor families, I.Q. scores and school achievement scores can indeed be raised by a good Head Start program. These gains are sometimes maintained beyond the third or fourth grade, but they often wash out by then, and this fact has been cited as an indication of Head Start's lack of lasting effects. Such pessimism does not seem entirely fair. Head Start cannot influence later school experience directly, and it is hard to know if gradually diminishing gains are more a commentary on insufficient Head Start preparation or on subsequent, dulling effects of the schools. Evidence from controlled Head Start field studies also suggests that Head Start-type curricula can bring about short-term gains for middle-class children.[1] In compensatory education programs (Sesame Street included), what is good for the poor child often turns out to be good for the middle-class child as well.

Even controlled experimental research concentrating on short-term gains is open to criticism on conceptual grounds. Such research usually bases program success on children's gain scores on I.Q. and achievement measures. Thus, in the present context, if a child gains more on a Metropolitan Readiness Test or a Stanford-Binet I.Q. Test after going to kindergarten than control children without kindergarten gain in the same time, the kindergarten child's gain is taken as an indication of program success. The problem with such an evaluation strategy has been pointed out by a number of psychologists. Kohlberg's comments are especially apt; he terms the acceleration of short-term gains the "industrial psychology" approach to education, and suggests that there is a fallacy in assuming that such gains really reflect any developmental acceleration with long-term implications.[1] Just because early I.O. or achievement scores in general tend to predict later achievement scores, it is not justifiable to assume that inflating a child's score to a higher level by some intensive effort will then assure that his new score will "predict" his subsequent achievement. Even though early achievement measures do tend to predict later ones, it does not necessarily follow that "teaching the test," or teaching specific routines which will enable higher scores on the test, will lead to higher achievement later. For example, a letter recognition test is a good predictor of success in learning to read. But even though a pre-first grade curriculum may indeed result in higher scores on such a test, this does not mean that a specially tutored child who scores high on the test will necessarily be a better reader than one not so taught by the time they are in sixth grade, or even, perhaps, in the second semester of the first grade. Kohlberg puts it clearly: "... that cognitive ability and development are correlated with achievement scores does not mean that intervention to increase achievement scores will increase cognitive ability or development."[2]

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[1] J. Bissell, The Cognitive Effects of Preschool Programs for Disadvantaged Children (Washington, D.C.: National Institute of Child Health and Development, June 1970).

The problem may also lie in the tests themselves. We know that early school achievement scores do not enable us to predict many important outcomes outside the schools in later life with any degree of accuracy. Therefore, it is not clear that high, measured achievement in the early years signifies much about later success, or that achievement scores really measure the most important benefits conferred by the schools.

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[1] L. Kohlberg, J. Le Crasse, and D. Ricks, "The Predictability of Adult 'Mental Health' from Childhood Behavior," in B. Wolman, ed., Handbook of Child Psychopathology (New York: McGraw Hill, 1970).

[2] Kohlberg, La Crasse, and Ricks, ibid., p. 36.

There are other ways of evaluating the kindergarten experience, however, which do not stress its long-range benefits or its power as a predictor of subsequent success in school. William Rohwer has suggested one such criterion--the benefits of program participation concurrent with the experience itself:

> ...for both children and adults, extra-school tasks come in an extraordinary variety: the tasks of seeking, finding, acquiring, and remembering information; the tasks of extending, transferring, and creating new information; the tasks of communicating information, thoughts, and feelings to oneself and to others as well as of comprehending such communications from others; the tasks of understanding and accurately predicting future events; and the tasks of acquiring tactics and strategies for reaching chosen goals and for enjoying the journey, whether alone or in concert with others. Clearly, these tasks vary widely in character; some appear practical, some intellectual, others emotional. They all share, however, a major demand that the individual develop well-honed, cognitive skills and coordinate them with his actions.[1]

In reflecting on the generalization of skills acquired in school to tasks outside the school, Rohwer concludes that instructional practices in the schools almost never have validity in the concurrent sense because they usually fail to be relevant to other areas of the child's present life. He does not mention kindergarten. It seems possible that because many excellent kindergartens emphasize the very skills on his list, that kindergarten-aged children, more so than older children, may integrate the skills learned at school with their lives at home, availing themselves of learning strategies and opportunities which their age-mates without kindergarten do not have.

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[1] Rohwer, "Prime Time for Education," p. 320.

Concurrent benefits are most obvious for children with adverse circumstances in the home; some five-year-olds are abused, undernourished, or would be poorly supervised or left completely on their own if such a program were not available. But it is probably wrong to emphasize only the benefits for less fortunate children. Beyond the provision of health services, nutrition, and safety for children in great need, the kindergarten also is likely to offer certain concurrent benefits to all children. Curiosity aroused by the kindergarten science curriculum, for instance, may carry over to new kinds of exploration and questioning in the child's half-day out of school. Also, a greater ability to relate to other children and cooperate with them outside the school, which a majority of the parents included in the MEEP parent demand survey said they felt was important as an early childhood program outcome, is likely to result from the kindergarten program. In addition, a half-day during which the mother is free to work or do what she pleases is often viewed with mutual relief by both parent and child. Full-time parenthood is usually unwarranted by the time children are five, and the child, happy for a chance to be with friends and age-mates, may also discover that the chance for his mother to have time to pursue her own interests, or earn money, has made her better able to be a good parent the rest of the day.

Although Rohwer's notion of concurrent program value refers to experience outside the classroom, concurrent importance could also be assessed within the classroom itself. Here it seems that kindergarten is as difficult to evaluate as any other school program. But in the eyes of the children themselves, it is apt to be more fun than whatever else they might be doing, and if enthusiasm and motivation are any measure of concurrent value, kindergarten may have a validity that much of the rest of schooling often cannot claim.

There have been no studies to date which compare the day-to-day lives of children in kindergarten and children not in kindergarten, but an interesting starting point for the psychologist or the educator would be an ethological or ethnographic study comparing groups of five-year-olds in the two situations, seeing how they actually spend their day, and looking for concurrent generalization of kindergarten learning as well as concurrent interest and enthusiasm among kindergarten children for various new activities.

In addition, many early childhood educators believe that children who begin school in kindergarten, in an unthreatening environment where they can establish a sense of autonomy and transfer trust to another adult, are more able to adjust later to the formal demands of schooling than those who enter the first grade without the opportunity of such a kindergarten experience. While this effect has not been consistently demonstrated in research studies, it is an appealing notion and should not be ruled out as a justification for kindergarten.

There are many reasons for our failure to generate significant research findings about the effects of schooling, as we point out in Chapter Seven, and it would be a serious mistake to develop educational policies solely on the basis of research findings.

B. Equal Access to Kindergarten

Thus far we have been concerned with educational outcomes, and the possibility of different outcomes for children with kindergarten experience and children without such experience. We have made some tentative, positive statements, but we see that any attempt to discuss educational outcomes is thwarted by a number of technical and conceptual difficulties, and that it is very difficult to draw definite conclusions about long-term and short-term effects of the program. We also see that some kinds of research which might demonstrate kindergarten benefits simply have not been done. Because of such ambiguities, we feel that it would be a mistake to cast the current discussion solely in terms of empirical research that has been done to date. In the history of American education, rarely indeed has conclusive evidence been adduced in support of a program prior to its inception. Much more commonly the question of program worth has depended on the wisdom and opinion of citizens, educators, and policy-makers. That this is the case in the matter of kindergarten should not surprise anyone, or make the Board of Education's decision any less important.[1]

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[1] It is interesting to note that arguments in favor of the kindergarten program have changed little during the past eighty years. In 1887, Mrs. Pauline

(Continued)

The question of equal educational opportunity, in particular, has seldom been resolved by reference to outcome data alone. Instead, unequal opportunity has more often been argued on grounds of unequal educational inputs, or unequal access to school programs with presumed benefits. While no one would expect all programs in all schools to be identical, there are some offerings, like kindergarten, which have a presumed importance as educational experiences because many parents and experts feel they are valuable and many school districts have chosen to provide them.

In the present discussion, an especially clear case for mandatory public kindergarten can be made on the grounds that the present situation, in which some children have access to the program and others do not, amounts to discrimination against poor families in districts still without the program. While it is true that the districts without kindergartens do not tend to have the poorest average incomes--lack of public kindergartens more often reflects poverty of tax base than poverty of residents' average income--it is also true that within districts not yet implementing the mandate, the poorer families are the ones whose children are least apt to be in private programs, and therefore tend not to be offered the same experiences more fortunate children are getting in their own district, or the same experiences other children, regardless of family income, are getting in most other districts. Since there is no more economical kindergarten

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[1] (Continued) Agassiz Shaw and other Massachusetts citizens made a strong plea for publicly supported kindergartens in the City of Boston. A committee headed by Samuel Eliot was appointed to investigate the issue and, in 1888, the Eliot Committee endorsed Mrs. Shaw's point of view, recommending that kindergartens be provided throughout the Boston public schools. The arguments presented by the Eliot Committee in support of public kindergarten--which convinced the Boston school committee at the time--are almost the same as those in favor of statewide kindergartens offered by the Kindergarten Study Committee Report in 1967. For quotations from the Eliot Report, see Frances Condon's informative paper, "The History of the Kindergarten Department: Boston, Massachusetts."

than a public one, we can surmise that if the kindergarten does have important effects--influencing placement into fast and slow tracks in the first grade, establishing patterns of school success and failure, or laying the groundwork for future cognitive development--then the absence of a public kindergarten works to the detriment of the most needy.

Both the Willis-Harrington Commission[1] and the Kindergarten Study Committee[2] made their strongest case for public kindergarten on grounds of equality of educational opportunity. We agree with their case.

C. Conclusions

On the basis of this study, we conclude that kindergarten should be made available to every child in the Commonwealth on two grounds.

First, we feel it is reasonable to assume that five-year-olds can significantly benefit from a kindergarten program. Despite the lack of unequivocal research evidence, the case for the benefits of kindergarten on empirical grounds, is at least as good as the case for any other school program.

Second, for us the most compelling argument is the one of equal educational opportunity. We have found no persuasive argument based on child development considerations for beginning school at any particular age. Individual differences in development make any chronological age highly arbitrary, and the child development case for four-year-olds, fives, or sixes probably can be made equally well. Nationally, age five is becoming the convention. What does seem compelling is the constitutional requirement for equal protection and the principle of good educational opportunity. If substantial public funds are used to provide kindergarten for one group of the population, especially for communities with a relatively strong financial base, then this opportunity should be available to all children in the Commonwealth.

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[1] K. Harrington, T. Wojtkowski, and B. Willis, Quality Education for Massachusetts, Commonwealth of Massachusetts, June, 1965.

[2] Kindergarten Study Committee, Toward Kindergarten Education for All Massachusetts Children (Boston: State Dept. of Education, 1967).

Wherever the dividing line is finally drawn by the courts, it seems self-evident to us that offering a full year of schooling to one child and not another is unequal opportunity. If, in addition, the child without the opportunity for attending public kindergarten comes from a poorer home, the inequality becomes manifestly unjust. If the courts find unconstitutional inequality when there are significant differences in per pupil expenditures in schools, they would almost certainly find the absence of the opportunity to go to school an even grosser inequality.

Thus we conclude that, given the fact that a majority of the school districts in the Commonwealth provide kindergarten, this opportunity must be made available to all children in the state.

III. RECENT HISTORY OF KINDERGARTEN IN MASSACHUSETTS

This section reviews the recent history of legislative and administrative action concerning kindergarten in Massachusetts, beginning with the Willis-Harrington Report of 1965. An understanding of these events is crucial in the formulation and implementation of a workable kindergarten policy.

The Willis-Harrington Report of 1965 concluded that the extension of school services to younger children was a high priority for Massachusetts. The Report recommended

> ...requiring kindergartens to be available for five year olds,....requiring attendance of six year olds,...authorizing state aid for school districts that offered schooling to three and four year olds and requiring such school services to be available for disadvantaged children.[1]

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[1] K. Harrington, T. Wojtkowski, and B. Willis, Quality Education for Massachusetts, June 1965, Chap. 19, p. 402.

There was also a recommendation that "...school districts provide a half day kindergarten for 185 days between September 1 and June 30, with attendance permissive."[1]

Subsequently, when the Willis-Harrington Act was passed, no explicit reference was made to public kindergartens; but the state Board of Education pursued the question of early education under its statutory authority to establish the mandatory and permissible ages for school attendance, and its authority to develop state plans for education.[2] A committee was appointed in summer of 1966 to examine the mandatory age question and to devise a plan for providing public kindergartens in all districts of the state still without them. The following June, after ten months of research and deliberation, the Committee submitted its final Report to the Board.

The Kindergarten Study Committee Report reasserted the importance of early childhood education, fully supporting the Willis-Harrington conclusions. It cited research on the formative years and suggested that the current situation, in which kindergartens were available for some children and not for others, involved inequality of educational opportunity. It also said that while other states had made a serious commitment to the education of five-year-olds, Massachusetts had not:

> In the country as a whole, 51.9 % of the public school districts provide kindergarten programs. Most revealing is the high incidence of kindergarten education in the northeastern part of the United States. In the North Atlantic states, 71.9% of the public school districts provide a kindergarten education. This compares to a total of about one-third of the school systems providing kindergarten education in Massachusetts.[3]

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[1] Harrington, Wojtkowski and Willis, ibid., Chap. 8, p. 206.

[2] Mass. General Laws of Education, Chap. 15, Sec. 16.

[3] Kindergarten Study Committee, Toward Kindergarten Education for All Massachusetts Children, 1967, C-1. Emphasis in the original. A thorough NEA survey (Continued)

The Report recommended that, beginning in the fall of 1968 and ending in the fall of 1973, public kindergartens be installed in all districts still without them. By the 1973-1974 school year, it would be mandatory under the Regulations of the State Board of Education that all districts provide adequate public programs for five-year-olds.

Four categories of communities were established:

1. those already having kindergartens by the fall of 1966;
2. those without them who had indicated in a survey by the Committee that they would voluntarily implement them;
3. those without them who had no plans; and
4. seventeen communities with enrollments too small to support a kindergarten.[1]

Interest centered on the 217 cities and towns in categories two and three. Communities in the second category had voluntarily indicated that they would install kindergartens and had chosen a specific year of implementation. Those in category three, however, had not. These communities were assigned a year from compliance between 1970 and 1973, according to the estimated number of classrooms they would have to install. Those with the smallest anticipated kindergarten enrollment were to go first. With the least fiscal burden, it was argued, they should be able to prepare themselves earliest. Towns needing four classrooms or less were assigned 1970; those with 4-7 classrooms, 1971; 8-13 classrooms, 1972; and 14 or more classrooms, 1973. Distribution of cities and towns in categories

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3 (Continued) conducted in November of 1967 indicates that during the 1967-68 school year only about 46% of the nation's public school systems operated public kindergartens. NEA Research Division, Kindergarten Education in Public Schools, 1967-68 (1969-R6).

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[1] Category 4 communities, although exempted from individual implementation, were expected to provide the program through future regionalization or planned tuition with contiguous school districts.

two and three, by voluntary or assigned year of implementation, appear in Table 5-1.

The six-year plan was a reasonable one for a Board of Education which wanted prompt implementation but which could not count on state tax money to underwrite the program. Because of the character of Massachusetts school funding--with its long history of home rule and its unusually high proportion of school funds deriving from local property tax revenues--the Board did not wield enough monetary control to provide kindergartens directly. Special, categorical subsidies were also unrealistic; they would have been far too costly, and were politically unattractive since they involved earmarking funds for kindergarten which otherwise would be included in Chapter 70 reimbursements. The incentives finally provided were the same as those which were already available for districts expanding their facilities or enrollment at any other grade level. The reimbursement scheme of the School Building Assistance Bureau paid 40 to 50 per cent of the cost of new facilities and construction--possibly as much as 65 per cent in the case of a limited number of towns included in the state's Regionalization Plan. This assistance was roughly equivalent to the interest on a local bond issue amortized over twenty years at 4 or 5 per cent. A sizable percentage of transportation costs would also be paid by the state, although, again, no special provisions were made for kindergarten or early elementary grades. Only augmented Chapter 70 entitlements offered a differential advantage; each kindergarten child counted as a full-day pupil for purposes of computing reimbursements, even though in almost all cases kindergarten would be a half-day program with half the actual per pupil cost of other grades.

Means of exerting pressure for compliance were carefully measured. The extended, and in part prescribed, timetable of implementation would allow time for planning and avoid any immediate sanctions for noncomplying districts, but would also ensure that every community without kindergartens not postpone the decision until the very end of the six-year period only to find itself without the space or the wherewithal to install kindergartens. Pressure for compliance from those who had no plans would better be diffused over four years, from 1970 to 1973, than come all at once in a politically and administratively unappealing squeeze.

In effect, the Board was told by the Commission to opt for as enticing a carrot as possible, short of any special funding, and to defer as carefully as possible the threat of the stick.

In addition to the issue of state aid and the timetable of compliance, the Committee's Report addressed the question of quality control. It was wary of prescribing specific classroom activities, or otherwise usurping the local School Committee's prerogative to establish its own program goals, but it also saw a need to ensure that districts would not be perfunctory in their compliance. Therefore, the Report suggested that a curriculum guide be prepared, in keeping with the recommendation of the Willis-Harrington Commission, to give some idea of broad boundaries for adequate programs. Otherwise, it recommended that the Board define only those kindergarten dimensions that would necessitate major expenditures--pupil-teacher ratio, teacher certification, class time per day and per year, and guidelines for the construction of appropriate classroom space. In each case, quality was defined by an appeal to national averages and the conventional wisdom they embodied. Thus, in the recommended kindergarten guidelines, pupil-teacher ratio was 25 to 1, the level of teacher accreditation was the same as for any other elementary school teacher, recommended class time was two and one-half hours per day for 180 days per year, and suggested classroom space was not less than 1200 square feet for a group of twenty-five children. All of these criteria reflected national kindergarten averages.[1]

Communities unable to provide appropriate facilities by the deadline were encouraged to seek temporary solutions. Suggestions included:

1. leasing space from community or church groups;

2. using portable classrooms;

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[1] See the analysis in the Kindergarten Study Committee Report and the NEA Research Report, 1969-R6. The accreditation criterion, however, did involve a plea to state training institutions for increased emphasis on specialization in ECE, and a plea to the State Board of Education that a new ECE credential be considered.

3. using private capital for constructing, leasing, and eventually purchasing permanent facilities;
4. building small houses which, where no longer needed by the school system, might be converted to private houses and sold.[1]

But building or renovating conventional classrooms was clearly encouraged:

> A consultant on school construction pointed out that the State will not reimburse a community for leased facilities and indicated that it generally costs more to build adequate temporary facilities which might be converted to other purposes than it does to erect permanent facilities. General consensus was that permanent problems (such as a mandatory kindergarten program) are rarely solved through temporary measures.[2]

Proposed School Building Assistance Bureau formulae reflected this conviction; there was no suggestion that they should be made more flexible for financing unconventional kindergarten facilities.

Cost projections, made in the Finance Section of the Report, anticipated expenses for installing kindergartens and maintaining them during their first year of operation. The conservative assumption was made that cities and towns without kindergartens would have to build additional classroom space for all kindergarten children. Building cost estimates, not including purchase of new property, were $46,000 per fully equipped classroom (1600 sq. ft.) in 1968 and rose to $58,965 in 1973 on the basis of a general 5 per cent inflation rate. On the average, 45 per cent of this cost was to be assumed by the state.

Total construction costs were estimated to be $78,756,656. Of this amount, the state was to pay $24,958,080 and the cities and towns were to pay $53,798,576, or about 31.7 per cent and 68.3 per cent, respectively.

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[1] The Kindergarten Study Committee Report, ibid., I-2.

[2] Ibid., I-2.

A. The Board's Decision

Initial approval of the Kindergarten Study Committee Report in June of 1967 triggered a certain amount of public controversy over the plan. Predictably, those most concerned about its implications were communities with no present plans for kindergarten implementation.

Hearings were held in Boston and Springfield over the summer, but numerous cries of "tokenism" were heard in reaction to these meetings. A few communities openly boycotted these meetings, and others protested the speed with which the Board was planning to act. Those districts protesting the plan did so, for the most part, on grounds of the additional expense it would require, the issue of home rule, the inconclusiveness of research regarding developmental benefits of the program and the seeming precipitousness of the Board's decision. Those in favor cited the testimony of educational experts in favor of kindergartens, compared Massachusetts and other states in numbers of districts offering kindergartens, reiterated the Willis-Harrington recommendations, and asserted the Board's right to mandate what it felt was educationally necessary.

The Board held to its acceptance of the plan, but after the summer hearings, one aspect of the plan was changed. The prescribed timetable of compliance for communities in "category 3" was dropped. While this timetable might have fostered better planning, it was certain to engender further bad feeling among the communities most reluctant to implement it. "Category 3" communities were released from an assigned year of implementation between 1970 and 1973 and allowed to establish their own pre-1973 deadlines. Definite plans were to be submitted, however, by December 31, 1968.

With only one minor, second change--the deletion of a clause urging the desirability of a single daily session for each teacher--the Committee's recommendations were wholly accepted. Regulations were established on October 24, 1967, to be made effective in September of the following year, requiring that kindergartens be provided in all districts by 1973. A final clause was added, stating that the Department retained its usual right to grant waivers in exceptional situations.

B. Progress in Implementing the Mandate

While in 1966-1967 only 118 of the cities and towns in the state operated public kindergartens, in 1971-1972, 212 cities and towns do. Since 1967, ninety-five cities and towns have installed programs; if the more conservative 1968 baseline for the beginning of the mandate is used, eighty have done so.[1] The number of districts offering the program has jumped from a third before the mandate to almost two-thirds at present. The increase in the percentage of children involved is less dramatic. In 1976, public kindergartens involved about 53 per cent of the total eligible children. Currently they involve approximately 63 per cent.[2]

It is difficult to make any clear estimate of the number of communities building new classrooms to provide programs. Some, like Stoughton, have built rooms expressly for kindergartens. Others have made space available within existing elementary schools, or, like Beverly, will build a high school or junior high and thus enable the reallocation of older buildings. The middle school has also been a solution to needs for school expansion, and in some cases it has complemented the need to install kindergartens. Such an example can be found in Canton. It is somewhat discouraging to note the number of cases in which new school buildings for older children--high schools in particular--have taken precedence over new facilities for younger ones. But, in general, facilities provided within the school fulfill the School Building Assistance Bureau and safety minimums prescribed by the Kindergarten Study Committee Report. In addition, often building plans originally included space for kindergartens, but the classrooms subsequently were used for first grade because of sharp increases in enrollment.

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[1] Numbers of cities and towns do not include towns given special exemptions from the 1967 mandate because of very small size. About half of these towns now have kindergarten (see Finance Table III of the Passios Report, and the listing of cities and towns currently offering kindergarten, included in the Appendix of this chapter).

[2] Exact comparability with the Kindergarten Study Committee figure is lost, since the 1967 estimate of total eligible kindergarten children was not based on new census data, while the current one is, and since some private kindergarten children may have been included in the 1967 estimate.

In keeping with the recommendation that space be rented, leased or renovated if necessary, a few communities also have provided either temporary or unconventional housing for kindergartens. Ipswich, for instance, has housed its kindergarten in a church basement. Framingham has decided that there are economic and educational benefits to be gained from grouping many kindergartens in a single building, apart from the other grades. One community, Duxbury, even has housed its kindergartens in a home for retired sailors. Clearly, where there has been a highly motivated group of parents and teachers, there has been a means of providing the program.

Variations of schedule among new programs have been rare. In 1968, only Fall River and North Adams provided anything other than a half-day program, and only Brookline had a single half-day session rather than a split session. The half-day program is still the rule, although Rockland has created an interesting time variation--the full year kindergarten--in which children attend for 180 days in sequences of weeks of school and weeks of vacation. Newton and other districts are experimenting with pilot full-day programs.

Pupil-teacher ratios in kindergartens throughout the state are about 25 to 1, as recommended, and there is no apparent difference between the ratios for communities which have complied since 1968 and those who had classes before that time. Most kindergarten teachers continue to hold a general elementary credential without any specialization in ECE, although a higher percentage of those teaching in new kindergartens have some special training for teaching young children. It is impossible to estimate program quality from such rough indices, but at least it can be concluded that those installing kindergartens under the mandate have been faithful to the Board's guidelines. Massachusetts now has a much wider involvement in the public education of five-year-olds than it did four years ago. It is also apparent that compliance with the kindergarten mandate has not resulted in substandard programs.

C. State Expectations and Rates of Compliance

In many communities, kindergarten implementation has been a great success, yet it is clear that the state plan has not been completely fulfilled. Numbers of new kindergartens actually exceeded expected numbers in 1968 and put the Plan temporarily ahead of itself; but these numbers have declined since that time. In particular, 1970 was disappointing; under the original Kindergarten Study Committee Plan, eighty-one districts would have initiated programs, but only thirteen actually did. Only ten more programs were begun in 1971.

Table 5-2 represents cities and towns by 1970 population levels and date of kindergarten implementation.[1] Several trends are apparent. Among the pre-1968 group, there are many large districts. Well over two-thirds of the urban areas in the state had kindergartens before the Board's decision to require them. In many cases, these districts have been operating kindergartens for many years. Hence, it is no surprise that the percentage of eligible children attending kindergarten has consistently been much higher than the percentage of districts offering programs. On the other hand, since 1968 there has been only one large district--Framingham--which has initiated a program. The majority of the areas implementing the mandate have been small communities. This is demonstrated by the fact that, in 1967, public kindergartens involved about 53 per cent of the total eligible children. In 1972, only 63 per cent of the eligible children in the state were enrolled, although ninety-three new districts had added kindergartens. Starting kindergartens has presented more of a problem for large districts than for small ones. Looking at districts yet to comply, there is a fairly even distribution of large and small areas.

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[1] For all tables involving comparison groups, the conservative baseline of 1968 rather than 1967 is used. A separate analysis, including the fifteen communities which installed kindergartens in 1967-1968 as part of the group implementing in compliance with the mandate, yielded substantially similar results to the ones reported here.

Geographical distribution of districts still without programs is also of interest. It is a common misconception that districts still without programs tend to be in the western part of the state. As can be seen in Table 5-3, there is a heavier concentration in the eastern part of the state.

Compliance with the mandate is summarized in Table 5-1 and Figure 5-A. Predictably, a far higher percentage have complied from among those with plans for voluntary implementation at the time of theKSC Report than from among those with no such plans. It is difficult to escape the impression, however, that state expectations and local actions have had little to do with each other. A steady, year-by-year timetable was envisioned, but the result has been an initial burst of compliance from some districts and a general postponement by many others. A large number of cities and towns--122 in all--still have not acted. This is more than the number who originally were to have implemented in 1972 and 1973. Many of these school systems plan to comply, some within the next year. Many others are waiting because they temporarily lack space, or because they will not be able to acquire necessary funds until the threat of a deadline gives the local school committee sufficient leverage on the municipal budget. But another sizable group has postponed planning without qualms, adopting a "wait and see" policy toward the mandate. They have made the assumption that the State Department is not going to provoke any confrontation in 1973 and will therefore grant waivers generously to all districts wanting them.

D. The Have-Nots

If we divide Massachusetts school districts into three groups--those who had kindergartens before 1968, those who have installed the program since then, and those still without kindergartens--the most dramatic generalization which can be made is that property value per student, school tax rates, and per pupil expenditures all show definite differences between those districts which already had kindergartens before 1968 and those which did not. Districts which had kindergartens before the mandate tend to be the more affluent ones (Tables 5-4, 5-5). Slight, but perceptible differences of the same kind also exist between the group initiating programs since 1968 and those still without them.[1]

More specifically,

1. The group of districts which had no kindergartens in 1968 are clearly poorer in property value per student than those which did have programs. The group that still has no kindergartens today, in turn, are marginally poorer than those which have installed the program since 1968.

We may suppose that the problems of districts still without kindergartens are greater than those of districts already complying, since districts still without the program tend to be larger and are more uniform in their low property valuation.

2. Apparently, districts already installing kindergartens since 1968 in compliance with the mandate have done so with greater effort than other districts. Their average 1968 school tax rate is higher than that of the pre-1968 group, and also somewhat higher than that of the group still not complying. For these districts, installing kindergarten has often required strong effort.

3. Per pupil expenditures (PPE) tend to be lowest of all for the group of districts still without kindergartens, as seen in the local revenue component of PPE (Table 5-5). The same trend is noticeable in total PPE levels, suggesting that state and federal aid do not fully compensate for the imbalance in levels of local expenditure (Table 5-6).

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[1] Comparisons are based on school finance data for the 1968-1969 school year, collected by the Internal Revenue Service in collaboration with the State Department of Education. There are theoretical reasons why 1968-1969 data, from the year of the initiation of the mandate, may be the most valid for purposes of comparison. But 1970-1971 data could as easily have been used. Absolute levels of PPE, local taxation, and the tax rate have changed since 1968, but it is highly unlikely that the rank order of communities on these measures has changed much since that time or that the magnitude of differences has been reduced.

4. While descriptive statistics comparing the pre-1968, 1968-1971 and post-1971 groups are useful, they should not obscure the fact that some of the districts still without programs have greater problems than others. There is wide variability within the three groups, and some districts without programs are more affluent than districts with them.

The districts still without kindergartens tend to be districts "poor" in educational revenues (i.e., districts which, because of low property value, little industry, and a requisite high tax rate, have a more difficult time raising adequate school revenues than their more fortunate neighbors). Such districts are, to a large extent, the victims of a system of educational funding which disproportionately weighs local property taxation as a means of generating educational funds. These problems were recently noted by Harold Howe commenting on the recent California Supreme Court decision, Serrano vs. Priest, which has held that local property taxation as a basis for educational funding is a violation of the equal protection clause of the Constitution.

> Many of the school districts in the deepest fiscal difficulties are those of the new middle-income and blue collar suburbs that must raise almost all their school funds from taxes on housing. These districts often have more children per residence and little or no industrial and commercial tax base. The result is a lower assessed valuation per child than in wealthier suburbs, and some urban areas. While incomes are well above the poverty level in blue collar suburbs, property taxes are high, school costs are mounting, school expenditures are frequently inadequate, and tax-payer revolts against spending more on schools are increasing.[1]

Howe goes on to point out that such communities would gain significantly from an effective equalization plan supported by state revenues. It is important to see that in Massachusetts the issue of a fair scheme for educational funding and the issue of kindergarten are closely related, and that the benefit of a new state funding scheme would probably enable immediate kindergarten implementation in most districts still without the program. Except for a few low income, urban areas near Boston and a few wealthy school systems slow to comply with the mandate, the kind of district without kindergartens is very much the kind of district Howe describes.

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[1] The Saturday Review, November 20, 1971, p. 87.

It is difficult to know how seriously to weigh the reservations of communities resistant to public kindergarten. Clearly, in some districts, the issue is not one of economic difficulty but of poor planning. Despite several years of lead time, nothing has been done to meet a deadline established by the state, and nothing will be done unless some pressure is applied to an eleventh hour effort to arouse community interest and sense of obligation. Such communities are often viewed with justifiable displeasure by districts who have already complied, especially since some of the districts which have complied are poorer than those who have not. On the other hand, it is important not to ignore problems of kindergarten implementation among those districts which are poorest in educational revenues and which have the least advantageous tax base. Their problems are real and deserve the concern of the State Board.

In these cities and towns, maybe as many as a third of those still without programs, the issue of meeting the 1973 deadline often is one of the relative priorities given a shortage of funds and many other unmet needs.

Original cost projections, liberal in estimating that all districts would have to build new facilities, were not at all liberal in estimating rates of increase for building costs and teacher salaries. These two variables, accounting for almost the entire expense of beginning a kindergarten program, diverge more and more from 1967 projections as the years go by.

Finding space is a related problem. Most communities have space in the schools, or nearby, which can house kindergarten classes. But if such space is not available, either because it is already being used by other programs, is unsafe, or would be too costly to renovate, there can be difficulties.

Temporary solutions often can be arranged, but they raise the specter of false economies mentioned earlier, in the Kindergarten Study Committee Report. There is little School Building Assistance Bureau support for renting facilities; nor are there necessarily any such funds available for renovation of and unconventional space outside the schools. Mobile classrooms remain an alternative. Although opinion of their worth is mixed, they are not really so mobile, and good ones tend to cost as much as $30,000 each.[1] When local attitudes preclude a bond issue for new classrooms, a superintendent may have no choice but temporary solutions. And, ironically, although in the long run teacher salaries and operating expenses account for the largest share of additional expense, it is often the bond for classroom construction which becomes the major political stumbling block in starting a kindergarten program.

Several economic influences have had a strong effect on the development of new kindergarten programs throughout the state.

First, Massachusetts, as a state, has, over the years, given public schools remarkably low fiscal priority. Despite the fact that in 1971 Massachusetts ranked eighth in the nation in per capita income, we were below the national average in per pupil expenditures for the operating costs of schools. In 1968-1969, Massachusetts ranked lowest in the nation in the per cent of personal income which was spent on current school expenditures.[2]

Second, the unexpected national economic recession of the late sixties and early seventies has had a major effect. Pinched municipal pocketbooks coupled with rising costs for construction and higher teacher salaries have resulted in strongly skeptical attitudes toward any kind of increased local spending.

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[1] Leasing of portable classrooms, where there is no provision to purchase them, is reimbursable at present as a current operating expense under Chapter 70.

[2] For an excellent analysis of school financing, see Charlotte Ryan, "The State Dollar and the Schools," Massachusetts Advisory Counsel on Education, Boston, Mass., 1970.

Kevin Harrington, one of the architects and co-sponsors of the Willis-Harrington legislation, examined the potential implication of the change in a recent interview:

> The 1960's were an era of adaptability on Beacon Hill. There was lots of progressive legislation.... But there's been a 180-degree turn in the '70's. The politicians are going back to their instincts: toe the line, don't tip the boat, don't spend money.[1]

Governor Sargent illustrated this position in his 1972 State of the State message in which he emphasized his opposition to an increased tax load. This seems to reflect the current mood of the public.

Displeasure among a limited group of hard-core kindergarten opponents has been reflected each year in bills presented to the State Legislature protesting the mandate and pressing for its repeal. These bills, beginning with H.1444 in 1968 and culminating most recently with H.1110 during the 1970-1971 session, all have attempted to rescind the Department's regulation or require that the state pay for kindergartens.[2] Significantly, the most recent attempt to revoke the mandate was passed in the House by a sizable majority and was only stopped by the Senate Ways and Means Committee from coming to a vote on the Senate floor.

It would be a distortion to emphasize the problems and reservations of a limited number of communities in meeting the mandate at the expense of emphasizing the successes of the plan to date. At the same time, however, we feel that communities with special difficulties and objections deserve careful attention, and we feel it is important to address their problems directly. In the subsequent sections on establishing a kindergarten attendance policy and updating the provisions of the Board of Education's kindergarten mandate, the concerns of reluctant communities are carefully weighed.

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[1] The Phoenix, July 13, 1971, p. 20.

[2] See the Appendix to this chapter for H. 1110 roll call.

In any case, we strongly urge the Board of Education not to adopt a policy of compulsory kindergarten enrollment as a means of clarifying the legal complications associated with its present policy of requiring that all districts make kindergarten available while leaving attendance a parental option.

IV. KINDERGARTEN ATTENDANCE POLICY

In this section, we examine technical and legal issues surrounding the development and implementation of a sound state-level kindergarten attendance policy. We analyze the legal options available to the Board of Education and propose a set of policies and guidelines for adoption by the Board.

A. A Proposal

In earlier sections, we have argued that despite the lack of conclusive empirical research documenting the benefits of kindergarten, we have no reason to believe that appropriate school programs for five-year-olds are any less valuable than programs for any other school-age child. We have noted that while we have no compelling child development evidence for beginning school at a particular age, five has become the conventional age for beginning school across the nation as well as in Massachusetts. And we have argued that, given some presumed benefits from kindergarten, once a significant portion of the population has kindergarten available to a given age group as a publicly supported service, it must then become available to the total population. Given the availability of kindergarten, a related issue must be addressed: Should attendance be required of all five-year-olds as it is for older children?

Compulsory provision of schools in Massachusetts dates back to laws passed in 1642 and 1647. Although making school available to the children of all citizens greatly increased enrollments, compulsory provision was not accompanied by compulsory attendance. It was not until 1852, more than two hundred years later, that Massachusetts passed a compulsory school attendance law. It was the first such law in the nation and required children aged eight to fourteen to attend no fewer than twelve weeks of school each year.

Over the past century, there has been a slow but steady trend toward increasing the number of years of compulsory attendance in school and the number of days per year that are required. This trend seems to have less to do with child development factors and more to do with economic and social trends within the broader society. Compulsory attendance was seen by many as necessary in order to have an informed, responsible and appropriately socialized citizenry. It was also designed to protect children from exploitation by industry, and it reflected an increasingly accepted belief that education has a high economic value both to the individual and to the society as a whole. Increasing industrialization and technology seemed to demand increasing numbers of educated citizens.

In an extension of this long-term trend, the National Education Association recommended in 1966 that free public schooling be made available for all children age four and above. It seems likely that schooling, or its appropriate equivalent, will be available for many more four-year-olds and even three-year-olds within the next decade or two.

In the meantime, we are not persuaded at this time that the factors which in the past have justified making school attendance compulsory are sufficiently weighty for five-year-olds to justify removing yet one more degree of freedom and choice from parents. We would like to see efforts to give parents greater choice, rather than lesser choice, over their lives and those of their young children.

Despite the real danger that under a purely voluntary system it might be the children of lower income and minority groups who would be more likely to miss school, we believe that it is better policy to help parents find what they want for their children than to force them against their will to send their children to school.

We are aware that this argument is not uniquely suited to five-year-olds and that it may seem equally valid for any age. Although addressing this wider issue is beyond the scope of this report, we believe it is time to re-examine the question of what services should be compulsory. We have long recognized the right of the well-to-do to provide their own kind of school. The poor and, in general, minority groups have not had that option. They should.

Thus we support the present policy of the Board of Education to require the availability of kindergarten to every child of school age (age five within the calendar year of entry into school) without making it mandatory for parents to send their children.

A procedure which allows a parent to withhold his child simply by not sending the child to school has some serious drawbacks, however.

First, we feel that many parents may not be well informed about kindergarten and that those withholding their child might do so for the wrong reasons. Although we are aware of the dangers of educational paternalism, we also feel that if parents could keep their child out of school without any contact with the school, this could have the effect of excluding poverty children.

Even more important, we are concerned that a subtle exclusion might be promoted by such a system. If parents could exempt their children from the program by simply not sending them, they might be persuaded to exercise this choice in some cases, quietly, because schools made it difficult or unappealing for their children to attend the program. Such a possibility exists, for example, in the case of bilingual children. We know from the recent study of the Task Force on Children Out of School that these children's parents often have not wanted to send their children to school in part because they felt that their children were not welcome and that the school was not prepared to provide the kind of education they felt their children need.

A purely open-ended parental option not to send the child could also have another undesirable effect: It may perpetuate the view, held by certain parents and even certain elementary school personnel, that kindergarten is a kind of educational limbo, somewhere between no school and primary school. Much of the value of kindergarten is lost if it is regarded within the school as a year apart which need not be integrated within the later grades. Lack of coordination with first, second, and third grade, and lack of respect for the kindergarten, has sometimes had the self-fulfilling result of reducing the program's importance to parents and teachers, and thereby possibly lowering its effectiveness for children.

Thus, in view of the above considerations, we recommend that parents be required to register their children with the school system in the spring of the calendar year in which they become five years of age, at which time parents would be asked to indicate their intent to send the child to kindergarten or not, and at which time there would be a health examination designed to identify any major visual, hearing, speech, or psychomotor and nutritional problems for which special treatment is needed. Such examinations should be limited to specific health problems for which the child may be recommended for treatment and should not include attempts to screen for social and emotional adjustment. The issue of testing and screening is discussed at greater length in the chapter on evaluation.

Hopefully, school districts will take advantage of this spring registration period to initiate communication between parents and school personnel. Meetings can be held with parents to discuss the school programs. Arrangements can be made for children to visit the kindergarten on some staggered basis. In areas with large numbers of non-English-speaking families, a liaison person such as the community coordinator described in the Transitional Bilingual Education Act of 1971 should help plan all these events.

B. Question of Implementation

Translating the above general policy into a legal mandate within the current statutes is not a simple matter. The existing legislation provides a limited number of routes which the Board can follow in implementing its mandate.

Examining the General Laws for Education, one clause which gives the Board authority to require kindergartens is the part of Section 1G of Chapter 15 which allows the Board to establish the mandatory age of school attendance. Under this provision, lowering the mandatory age of school attendance to five would have the effect of requiring all school districts to provide kindergarten.

Some have argued that additional authority to require kindergartens can be found in that part of Section 1G of Chapter 15 which gives the Board authority to do necessary educational planning. We doubt this section was meant to empower the Board to mandate new programs, and we doubt that it carries sufficient legal authority to do so in the case of kindergarten. Others have maintained that the kindergarten mandate can be based on the part of Section 1G of Chapter 15 which gives the Board the right to establish the "permissible age" of attendance. We also feel the Board lacks adequate legal authority to require public kindergartens under this clause. For such authority to be upheld in court, "permissible age" would have to mean the age at which a parent is permitted to send a child to school if the parent wants. If the parent has such a right, it would be logical that the school provide a program. But "permissible age" is much more apt to be interpreted in court to mean the age at which a school is permitted to accept a child if the school wants. The intent of the "permissible age" clause was to grant the Board authority to regulate early admissions decisions, not grant it authority to require that districts provide new programs for given age groups whenever parents want such programs.

Thus after careful examination of the statute and consultation with a number of legal authorities, it remains unclear to us whether the various provisions within the current statute are sufficient for the Board to enforce the policy which it has set forth and which we can support--namely, compulsory provisions of kindergarten by school districts without compulsory attendance. We are sympathetic with the Board's hesitation to seek a revision of the current statutes at this time.

It is clearly within the legal power of the Board of Education to legitimize the kindergarten mandate unambiguously by lowering the mandatory age to five, thus requiring school attendance by all five-year-olds. We support, however, the current policy of the Board which requires provision of kindergarten without requiring attendance. We feel the state should use its compulsory powers over its citizens with great hesitation and only when there is clear reason to believe that without such compulsion serious harm will result to individuals. In our opinion, such a case has not been made convincingly enough for kindergarten attendance to be required of all children.

V. REVISING THE MANDATE

One fact predominates in our investigation of the kindergarten question: districts poor in tax base and educational revenues are overrepresented among those districts which have had difficulty implementing the mandate. Thus there may be a constitutional issue involved in guaranteeing the availability of kindergarten to every child in the state, that of the equal protection under the law that is afforded every citizen.

We do not believe the relationship between low property value, high tax rate, and low per pupil expenditure on the one hand, and absence of kindergarten on the other, is an accident; nor do we feel that many school systems still without the program can be faulted for lack of effort. Instead we take the current situation to be a dramatic demonstration of the unfair basis on which educational funds are raised and allocated in the Commonwealth. The inequities of the Massachusetts system for generating educational revenues, where over two-thirds of these funds come directly from local property tax revenues, have been amply discussed elsewhere,[1] as have the inequities of the states' educational reimbursement formulas. We feel these issues should be linked to the kindergarten question, and the state legislature should recognize that certain children have been denied access to a public educational program which others enjoy because they live in a poor district instead of a rich one.

The question of unequal levels of per pupil expenditure between school districts is a matter that goes well beyond kindergarten and has major implications for the entire public education system. However, in the case of kindergarten it is especially important, for it is a matter of some school districts providing schooling for five-year-olds from public funds and other districts not providing it. This is surely a more clear case of unequal opportunity than discrepancies in the amount of money spent on students from one district to another.

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[1] Ryan, "The State Dollar and the Schools."

Therefore we recommend that the Commissioner of Education and the Board of Education take immediate steps with the Legislature to remove the existing inequities in school funding by revising the present system for raising and allocating educational revenues. Given the increasing tendency of the courts to rule such inequities unconstitutional,[1] it is possible that the courts will require such changes. It is a clear legislative responsibility, however, and it would be inappropriate for the Legislature to wait until legal opinion through the courts forced such action.

A. Weaknesses of the 1967 Strategy

Assuming that the policy of the Board is both educationally sound and legally enforceable, it is then important to make specific recommendations about how the mandate should be implemented in order to make it viable in the next few years.

In hindsight, there were certain specific weaknesses in the State Board's 1967 kindergarten implementation. The first and most obvious one was the decision to relax the stepwise plan of compliance, by which cities and towns with no plans would be assigned a specific year for kindergarten implementation. This was certainly the most demanding recommendation of the Kindergarten Study Committee Report; but its exclusion from the final guidelines enabled committees to procrastinate when they otherwise would have planned. Many superintendents would have been grateful for a specific, early deadline established at the outset. As it was, the timetable was replaced by little. Communities without kindergartens were asked to submit a form by December 31, 1968, stating when they thought they would initiate the program. This approach might have been adequate if it had included criteria for acceptable planning efforts and acceptable rates of progress in realizing them; but, as it turned out, no such criteria were envisioned.

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[1] Supreme Court of the State of California, Serrano vs. Priest, in Harvard Educational Review, 41:4, 1971.

Second, waivers were left as a possibility for districts that could not make the 1973 deadline, but no guidelines were offered regarding qualification for them. Nor was it explained who would make the decision about legitimacy of waiver need, or what precise penalties would be imposed if a waiver were withheld. The absence of such definitions led many cities and towns to conclude, perhaps correctly, that final decisions would be made politically rather than objectively.

In addition, the Board's plan lacked an aggressive policy of planning assistance at the local level. Many local school committees and superintendents need assistance in involving parents and other taxpayers in the identification of needs and in planning appropriate kinds of kindergarten programs. Once members of the community understand their needs and are agreed upon a general plan, then there should be technical assistance from the Department in preparing a budget, staff training plans, curriculum, and new classroom space. Unfortunately, too little has been done.

The Department did prepare a Curriculum Guide,[1] written in 1970 by a distinguished group of Massachusetts early childhood educators, and it has been widely disseminated in a series of regional workshops by the State Kindergarten Coordinator. The School Building Assistance Bureau is helpful in discussing plans when approached but normally becomes involved only at the time classroom space is to be built or renovated. Very little community organizing and financial planning assistance has been provided.

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[1] Kindergarten Curriculum Resource Guide, Massachusetts Department of Education, Division of Curriculum and Instruction, 5N-6-70-047108.

The Regional Offices of the Department have personnel assigned to assist individual districts, and these offices have provided workshops, on-site visits and evaluation of possible facilities. But Regional Office personnel are often overextended, and they have not devoted a large portion of their time to kindergarten questions. Moreover, local school committees often have not taken full advantage of services which were available. Nor have there been organized exchanges between those districts who have successfully installed kindergartens and those who have not.

A fourth limitation of the state policy, equally serious, though by no means as easily corrected, was the absence of any organized early childhood "lobby"--a group or groups of enthusiastic supporters--to educate the public about the mandate and the possible benefits of a program for five-year-olds. Informal reports suggest that the League of Women Voters, parent groups, and other local organizations often have mobilized to provide strong political support for kindergartens. But no formal attempt has been made to acquaint such groups with the provisions of the mandate, or to bring them together with others who might be sympathetic. As a result, local support often has not materialized.

B. A New Plan

These limitations must be rectified in reshaping the state kindergarten policy. As an immediate step, for the 122 districts still without programs, the Board must decide whether to modify the timing and conditions of the kindergarten mandate. We recommend two ways to make an adjustment in the policy: by offering additional assistance and by establishing new rules for waiver eligibility.

There is certainly a strong case for special assistance to many of the districts still without programs on grounds of economic need. As we have seen in the first section of this chapter, districts without kindergartens tend to be poorer in educational revenues and tax base than districts which have programs. The poorer districts should be considered a special group eligible for additional help in meeting the 1973 deadline.

We have also seen, however, that within the group of districts which still have not complied, there is a considerable dispersion of need--some districts clearly deserve more help than others. Some are known to be much poorer than others, and some face far greater difficulties of immigration, lack of space, and community indifference. With data at hand, these disparities are incontrovertible. It is important to acknowledge the diversity of problems and to consider each community's needs individually.[1]

It is also important to be fair about the kind of help which should be offered. Given the current state funding for education, while it would be possible to provide full support for kindergartens from state funds by a special funding arrangement, we see no basis for such a special arrangement for kindergarten. Kindergarten already suffers from too much separation from the rest of school. In our opinion, the entire financial support structure for schools should be reviewed in order to reduce the current financial inequities rather than providing an *ad hoc* solution for kindergarten alone.

Special help for planning kindergartens, however, would be useful, and, if the Board wants accelerated kindergarten planning above and beyond what districts already are doing, it is probably an obligation of the Department to provide this help. Such help is already available to some extent for towns which are members of regional school districts. These towns are reimbursed for all expenditure toward planning classroom construction and only begin to pay when their building plan actually takes effect. It would be useful to extend such a clearly precedented form of assistance to all districts without kindergarten programs, regardless of their eligibility for regionalization benefits. Money should be available for more than the planning of new construction. It should also be provided for other aspects of program initiation. Deciding where to put kindergartens and what should be their real function in the school system are legitimate steps in the planning process. There is also a need for guidance by some group of experts with intimate understanding of the difficulties involved in beginning a kindergarten program. It is doubtful that the efforts of Department personnel alone will be sufficient--they have not been, to date, despite the work of many interested staff members.

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[1] Outcomes by district on various hardship measures and estimates by district of anticipated tax rate increases required to operate kindergartens can be found in the Appendix to this chapter.

An Explicit Waiver Policy

A second step--equally important but politically much more sensitive--is the provision of specific new rules for dispensing waivers. The state might want to take the position that it will grant no waivers whatsoever. Commissioner Sullivan has repeatedly said that there is no excuse for failing to have kindergartens by 1973, and a lengthy planning period has been allowed--longer, for instance, than the time given Rhode Island districts under similar circumstances. It can also be argued that those already complying with the mandate would be punished by any waiver decision favoring those still without programs. A bad precedent would be established by removing the deadline at the very time it should be upheld. The Department's credibility in future policy decisions would be jeopardized.

But as a practical matter, it will now be extremely difficult for certain districts to meet the deadline; with a no-waiver policy, the Board almost certainly will have at least one confrontation with a city or town not able to comply. To threaten court action or the withdrawal of all state aid in 1973 seems unjustifiably harsh.

The problem of providing adequate space for the program may be acute in some school systems. There is concern among larger and poorer districts, for instance, that budgeting pressure may increase if parochial schools soon close. It is difficult to estimate actual reductions, and also difficult to estimate budget increases in the public schools if large numbers of additional students must be accommodated. But there are many districts without parochial students which still have no public kindergartens (Table 5-7).[1] Also, problems in initiating new programs now are greater than they were three or four years ago. Building costs have risen, community attitudes toward educational spending have changed, and increased demands by the state--such as the recent decision to require that all districts install hot lunch facilities--have been made.

We conclude that it will be necessary to adopt a limited waiver policy for use in a few cases. Under such a policy all 122 districts should be required to submit new and explicit plans, which include proposed deadlines for full implementation and a series of interim deadlines. The plans should be clear about numbers of children to be included in the program, projected costs, and a calendar of compliance. In most cases, an additional year or, at the most, two should suffice. Kindergarten waivers should be evaluated at semi-annual intervals in much the same way double-session waivers currently are reviewed. If compliance lags, court action or withdrawal of a fraction of state aid, equivalent, perhaps, to the district's kindergarten reimbursement, should ensue.

In addition, it seems appropriate to require that all districts have at least one public kindergarten classroom in operation by the fall of 1973, as a demonstrable first step in kindergarten implementation. This class can provide a beginning, and a model for the full program to come. It should not be atypical of future classes, receiving special or disproportionate funding from Follow-through or Title I monies. Nor should the class be designed for a special subpopulation of five-year-olds. It should be exemplary, not exceptional. If parents have the chance to observe a public kindergarten classroom, local motivation to provide the program for all children may increase.

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[1] Speculation about future enrollment increases included tabulating the projected increases in enrollment from 1970 to 1975 as a percentage of 1970 enrollment. This measure is of dubious value, being based on new and untested projection estimation procedures of the State Education Department, but it can claim some face validity in the current discussion, since the projections will be used by many districts in planning their educational budgets for the coming years. Table 5-8 shows that there may be a tendency toward higher increases in districts still without programs than in other districts.

Conditions of Planning Grant Eligibility[1]

Planning grants and the waiver policy must not operate independently of each other. They must be coordinated so that there is an incentive to install kindergartens early rather than late. The grant system must operate in such a way that community kindergarten proponents have a strong argument for prompt action (i.e., that immediate installation is financially wise and that seeking waivers only will cause the district to lose money).

To this end, planning grants for each school system which has not established kindergartens should be made available for the school year 1972-1973. The following principles should be built into the system for dispensing planning grants:

1. It should be made clear that the grant is to pay for accelerated planning, not the ordinary process of planning for which the school system is already obligated.

2. A general kindergarten plan--including a deadline for final implementation--should be required prior to any consideration for a grant.

3. The accelerated planning grant formula should be based on projected numbers of kindergarten pupils.

4. The grant formula should also take into consideration the widely variable levels of planning need among districts still without programs.

5. Any district seeking a waiver beyond September 1974 should be ineligible for a planning grant.

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[1] See Appendix A5-6 for suggested guidelines for allocation of technical assistance funds.

Regional Planning Teams

To cope with the budgetary and political problems--especially of those districts without any plans whatsoever--extra advice and supervision is necessary. There is also a need for some competent and talented group to assume the responsibility of reviewing planning grant proposals and waiver requests. Well-informed decisions should be made for each district.

In visits around the state, we have been given the definite impression that many cities and towns have received little effective help to date and that many doubt any such help is forthcoming. Moreover, many districts are convinced that officials in the Department's Boston office will be making decisions about their situation without any real understanding of it. It would be highly undesirable if these suspicions were proven correct, creating a polarization of state demands and local realities.

We conclude there is a need to decentralize the administration of the mandate. Regional offices of the Department should serve as points of focus for the creation of kindergarten planning teams. These teams, chosen to represent various areas of expertise, should be responsible for actively contacting and helping districts with no current plans. The teams should include at least:

- the senior member of the Education Department's Regional Office, as Chairman;
- one superintendent from a town beginning a kindergarten program since 1967;
- the regional senior supervisor in elementary education;
- at least one kindergarten teacher;
- one early childhood educator from a state or private college;
- one member of the Regional Center Advisory Council;
- a school committee member, and at least one parent from the region.

In addition, the teams may seek advisors on school finance and facilities planning.

Each regional team should be chosen and presided over by the Director of the Department's regional office, in consultation with the Commissioner of Education. It should be responsible for:

- seeking out communities without kindergartens, assessing their needs, and providing all necessary assistance;
- reviewing new, specific implementation plans, determining whether they are adequate, and requiring that they be upheld;
- reviewing planning-grant proposals for any districts requiring extra funds for kindergarten preparation;
- making recommendations to the Commissioner for granting waivers to the few communities actually needing them;
- performing semi-annual waiver reviews for these few communities--beginning immediately--to assess progress in the local timetables of kindergarten installation; these timetables shall be evaluated at six-month intervals just as double-session waivers are currently evaluated; if the timetable is not upheald, court action or withdrawal of a portion of state aid should be recommended;
- helping communities meet the state requirement that all districts initiate at least one kindergarten by the fall of 1973.

The resulting decentralization of authority should be extensive, giving genuine latitude to the teams to act as they see fit. Granting the regional teams such powers will guarantee their legitimacy in the eyes of districts still without programs. It will also guarantee that kindergarten decisions are closely attuned to regional realities and that an excessive burden of supervision is not on the Education Department's central office staff.

State Funds for School Construction

In a press conference on November 10, 1971, Governor Sargent voiced his strong concurrence with the conclusions of a study recently commissioned by the Massachusetts Advisory Council on Education which stresses the need for new state revenues and assistance to local school districts for school construction.[1] He indicated that, in his mind, the need for new school construction in the Commonwealth had reached crisis proportions and that the state should play some role in helping pay for the needed classroom space. We would like to underline this point, and remind the Board of Education that the kindergarten question is closely linked to the school construction question. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, bond issues for construction were mentioned by superintendents as the largest stumbling block to initiation of the kindergarten program.

We recommend that funds for additional school construction be a priority for the Department of Education. We feel confident that the availability of such funds in the near future could make a great difference in enabling certain districts to meet the 1973 kindergarten deadline. As such money becomes available, districts including kindergarten construction in their overall construction plans should be given priority in receiving extra funds. This will provide another, indirect incentive to kindergarten installation.

VI. QUESTIONS OF PROGRAM QUALITY--SOME RECOMMENDATIONS

At this point, we address issues of kindergarten quality and make recommendations concerning them.

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[1] Associated Press, November 10, 1971. In response to the M.A.C.E. report: Campbell, Aldrich and Nulty, Architects, "A Systems Approach for Massachusetts Schools: A Study of School Building Costs."

A. Quality and Diversity

Can the Board of Education maintain acceptable levels of kindergarten quality while still promoting a wide diversity of program types? Thus far, the Board of Education has been reluctant to offer any but a few, basic quality guidelines for kindergartens. Its strategy has been to establish a "floor" for program quality--setting a few guidelines which define basic program dimensions--and otherwise to assume that communities will design their own programs according to local needs and local convictions about how five-year-olds are best served. A state curriculum guide also has been prepared, but only to suggest a range of possible classroom activities. The Board has not told local school committees how the program should be run, but, rather, has tried to ensure certain essential elements of pupil-teacher ratio, teacher certification, facilities, length of program, and eligibility of children.

Even these few state guidelines, necessary though they may be, have had a powerful effect on program definition. Once a district has been told that in order to qualify for state aid it must have a 25 to 1 pupil-teacher ratio, must house the program in a facility which meets school safety standards, must hire teachers with at least elementary school accreditation, and must offer the program for 180 days each year with a minimum of two and one-half hours each day, program variation is already clearly delimited; teachers and parents are constrained in asking certain fundamental questions about general program characteristics, such as whether it would be wise to offer a "kindergarten without walls", or a program for three days a week, or a program taught by unaccredited paraprofessionals.

We recommend that the Board continue its policy of establishing only minimal protective regulations for kindergarten, leaving the maximum possible flexibility to individual school districts. It should be possible to suspend even the limited guidelines in cases where responsible alternative programs are proposed. The Board should systematically encourage and support diverse kinds of programs which are or have been carefully evaluated.

The guidelines should not become so deeply engrained that teachers and parents forget the tentative basis on which they are established. Contrary to the popular impression, there is no real certainty about which educational experiences are best for young children. Therefore, it seems better to keep as open a mind as possible toward different kinds of programs rather than to accept some particular orthodoxy on insufficient grounds.

But most current attempts at diversity will not require suspension of state kindergarten guidelines. At present, there are school districts in which fundamentally different programs are being attempted without any special dispensation, and this practice should continue. Rockland, for example, is experimenting with the full year kindergarten. The program, initially prompted by limitations of space, may well do more than simply save money. Its benefits for teachers, parents, and children are not yet evaluated, but the popularity of the program suggests that effects may be favorable. The scheme is now being considered for the upper elementary grades as well.

Innovations in Physical Location

Variations of kindergarten location, also prompted at first by lack of school space, represent another form of kindergarten diversity. Programs in store fronts, in church basements, and in renovated structures of various kinds sometimes have been initiated as interim measures, with plans to replace them later by classrooms built in the schools; but it would not be surprising, in coming years, to see many of the interim kindergartens outside the schools become well-established, and to see principals and teachers enthusiastic about making them permanent.

It can be argued that kindergarten should be in close physical proximity to the primary grades, particularly if they are to be treated as a single administrative unit as we recommend below. We admit there is a possible conflict between the value of innovative kindergarten locations and of an integrated primary unit, and can only urge each school unit to think carefully about its own priorities.

It is doubtful that the issue of where best to locate a kindergarten should be resolved as a general policy. Form must follow function, and physical location should depend on the purposes of the program as the community conceives them. It would be wrong for the Board to allow only a single, right place to put the program, and also wrong to provide a state reimbursement scheme which disproportionately favored a single configuration. It is wise for the School Building Assistance Bureau to adopt a liberal attitude in its policy of partial reimbursement of kindergarten classroom construction and renovation, and to be willing to provide funds for building, renovating or remodeling space outside the schools as long as a community's purpose in locating kindergartens there is well-reasoned. In this connection, we recommend a general review of local and state building codes and safety codes for classroom space, to identify areas in which they need to be loosened (e.g., in the use of modular or prefabricated materials), and to reconcile school safety standards with standards for children's programs sponsored by other agencies (e.g., child care centers, health centers, and kindergartens).

Curriculum Innovations

While the state kindergarten guidelines have fostered some uniformity in the overall characteristics of the kindergarten program, they have not prevented some innovation within the school and within the classroom itself. New curricula, teaching techniques, age-mixing plans, and spatial arrangements are currently being tried. Diversity within the school kindergarten program is definitely healthy--in many districts it has managed to overcome the dreary emphasis on rote learning, discipline, and routine which so dominated preprimary classrooms of ten or twenty years ago. It is difficult to know exactly how the new approaches are affecting children and how they differ from old ones in educational impact. Even the most careful educational research often is not very helpful in deciding which are the really salient dimensions of classroom activity or which classroom innovations result in substantially improved educational outcomes. But this is not sufficient reason to hesitate in trying them; in the absence of definite evidence about which programs are best, it is wise to adopt a strategy of measured experimentation, rather than retrench in tried, and perhaps untrue, patterns.

Ultimately, the goal of any program in the schools is to create appropriate educational experiences for individual children and groups of children. We are far from the necessary knowledge to do this perfectly, but we should begin exploring more daringly. It is no accident that when our awareness as educators increases, the ungraded school, the open classroom with age-mixing, and schemes for individualized instruction begin to appear worthwhile. Such approaches usually require more teacher finesse and more logistical complexity; but under proper circumstances, they often best emphasize the individual learning patterns and preferences of the child.

Some qualification is warranted: The new "openness" in elementary education is not always well-conceived or well-executed, and therefore not always fruitful. But, in general, a more "child-centered" program is desirable, and measures which may enable such a program should not be avoided simply because they have never been tried before.

B. Integrating Kindergarten with the Other Early Elementary Grades

Many of the teaching techniques and classroom arrangements currently used with very young children are more imaginative than those for later grades, and older children may be well served by incorporating certain kindergarten methods in their classes. At present, considering patterns which actually occur in the schools, it is seldom the case that kindergarten methods shape the upper grades and often the case, instead, that the kindergarten is subverted by the demands of later grades.

The typical kindergarten program, blending classroom play and an emphasis on socialization in the first half of the year with increasing stress on reading readiness and pre-first-grade skills in the second half, tries to familiarize the child with the school, and to teach him to interact with his peers. Increasingly, it seems, the agenda for the second half of the year has dominated the entire structure of the program, and preparing the child for high achievement in first grade has become the most important task of the kindergarten teacher. Because first grade teachers and elementary school principals feel special pressure to instruct every child to read and write as soon as possible, the kindergarten teacher is apt to conclude--or be told--that reading readiness, letter recognition, letter-tracing, and other, related activities are the most important ones.

In itself, this is not necessarily bad, since children usually enjoy learning to read and write and often come to school with an ability to recite the letters of the alphabet, which they may have learned on Sesame Street, or with prior prereading and prewriting experience in the home or the preschool; many children express an interest in developing skills which they already have begun to learn. But it becomes bad if teachers conclude that every child must arrive at a particular level of proficiency by the end of the kindergarten year, or if they conclude that the best way to teach such skills is by regimenting the entire kindergarten class or making it a "mini-first grade." Insisting on the practice of skills which some kindergarten children may as yet have little capacity to understand, or little motivation to develop and forcing rote repetition and copying when it would be more fruitful to allow the child to do something he is genuinely interested in, is not a teaching strategy destined to excite children about learning. Among the federally-funded Follow-through models, generally considered to be some of the best-conceived programs in the country, even the program most often identified as "highly-structured"--the Becker-Englemann prototype--does not require sustained drill except in several brief periods each day. Advocates of old-style, preprimary programs in Massachusetts should take note and consider the fact that kindergarten children, if they are bored or frightened or feel manipulated, can learn to dislike school at least as easily as children at any other age. There is some recent evidence that a strong cognitive emphasis at an early age tends to be correlated with negative attitudes toward schooling in the later grades.[1] Diversity in the kindergarten also means diversity of goals and of activities within the classroom, and it may at times be necessary to live with the absence of demonstrable outcomes like prereading proficiencies in order to allow the child to develop at his own pace.

Kindergarten should neither be subordinate to later grades nor separated from them. The years from five to seven (or eight) should be organized as an administrative and educational unit. There is a great deal of psychological evidence (summarized in White, 1970)[1] that these years constitute a true watershed period in child development, a time in which a set of prominent qualitative changes take place in the way a child responds to experience and regulates his actions. Sometime during these years the following behavioral changes occur:

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[1] Rohwer, "Prime Time for Education."

> The child becomes better able to attend to tasks imposed by someone else--such as a teacher--and to deliberately control his actions without continual verbal reminders about the task from that other person.
>
> The child becomes better able to inhibit motor behavior and exert self-control--so necessary in the group setting of a classroom.
>
> The child's language begins to serve new and important functions, especially in cognitive tasks; the child begins to 'talk to himself' to aid his memory (as in rehearsing a message he's asked to deliver) or in problem solving (as in being able to count to himself as well as out loud).
>
> The child becomes less dependent on external praise and works more from a desire for competence for its own sake.

While all children achieve these developmental milestones, they reach them at different ages. Any group of five-year-olds will have children spread out across these behavioral continua. By six, more children will have achieved more of these changes, but even at seven, individual differences on these developmental indices will remain.

In planning for children who differ in these important ways, some form of individualized program planning is essential. Various specific methods of solving this problem are being tried: age-mixing (or

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[1] S. White, "The Learning Theory Tradition and Child Psychology," chapter in P. H. Mussen (ed.), Carmichael's Manual of Child Psychology (New York: John Wiley, 1970).

"family grouping"), self-paced learning, transition classes, and various open classroom designs. All call at least for a careful orchestration of kindergartens with the primary grades, and at most for a complete elimination of grade groupings. Many of the most interesting program variations depend upon some form of continuity and coordination from the kindergarten to the first, second, and even third grades. We feel these steps toward increased flexibility are good and deserve the attention of all elementary educators.[1]

In discussions with teachers, principals and superintendents in several communities, we found that one strong deterrent to creative collaboration between the kindergarten and the later grades is the tendency to isolate the kindergarten program and kindergarten teacher from the mainstream of activities in the elementary school. There are often practical and logistical reasons why the kindergarten teacher cannot spend much time with other teachers; the program may be in a different building, the hours of the class may not tend to jibe well with those of other classes, and the logistics of two entirely different groups of children each day may be different than those of other grades. But, often, kindergarten teachers are not even invited to faculty meetings, given their share of the budget for extra supplies, or included in school decision-making. It is difficult to escape the conclusion that in many districts the informed notion of kindergarten as "sandbox" is disturbingly prevalent even within the elementary schools. Even among those who should be most sensitive to questions of child development, kindergarten sometimes is not taken seriously.

Kindergarten isolation, and the "secondary citizenship" of the kindergarten teacher in the school, should not be perpetuated.

At present, kindergarten is administered in the State Education Department under the Bureau of Curriculum Innovation. In the Department's regional offices, the Senior Elementary Supervisor usually assumes responsibility for assisting the program. There is considerable impetus, however, to expand staffing and to include an Early Childhood Supervisor in every one of the regional offices. This staff member would be the regional counterpart of the state Kindergarten Coordinator in the Department's central office, who now is the only person explicitly assigned to the program. We feel the need for more Department staff in regional offices is real, but we also want to encourage administrative units which mirror more coherent age-groupings in the schools. It would be a mistake to create new positions responsible for kindergarten alone. We recommend that the Board create an Early Childhood Education (K-3) administrative unit, on both the regional and state levels, including one Early Childhood Education Supervisor in each of eight regional offices,[1] and one Early Childhood Education Coordinator. The four-year span is a clear developmental sequence, and this administrative unit will have the effect of consolidating technical assistance and reinforcing cooperative efforts between teachers at the four grade levels.

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[1] A good review of age-mixing and open-classroom strategies in the education of young children can be found in a paper entitled "Developments in Early Childhood Education: Implications for the Elementary School," by Raymond Sullivan of North Adams State College, North Adams, Massachusetts.

C. Staffing in the Kindergarten

In kindergarten as elsewhere, the most important ingredient of an effective program for children is the quality of the staff. Our recommendations fall under five headings: certification, teacher-child ratio, the importance of men teachers, part-time teaching positions, and parent participation. (A more detailed description of these and other staff development issues is presented in Chapter Six.)

Certification

We endorse the concept of using performance criteria as a major basis for certifying persons for elementary school teaching positions. This is the recommendation of the Stiles Report[2] and has since been written into proposed legislation.

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[1] In Chapter Nine, we recommend the Department of Education adopt an eight-region system, consistent with other agencies, in line with Administrative Bullegin No. 65, 1969.

[2] Lindley Stiles, "Teacher Certification and Preparation in Massachusetts" (Boston: M.A.C.E., 1968).

Performance criteria are a reasonable response to two very real problems. First, the evidence of a relationship between formal academic training and effectiveness as a teacher is weak.[1] Second, there are many people without formal credentials who work well with young children and whom school administrators should be able to employ.

Although there are serious problems in developing and administering any performance certification process, some of which are discussed in Chapter Seven, the addition of performance requirements to the certification process for teachers is a definite improvement over the use of academic requirements alone.

Separate from the issue of criteria for certification is the grade range to be covered. At present, kindergarten is included under a K-8 certificate. We have heard arguments for narrowing the range, say, to K-3. We are sympathetic to the thinking behind these suggestions: teaching young children certainly does require special skills. But we also are opposed--here as elsewhere--to binding restrictions which further narrow, on some formal basis, the pool of people who can be hired for any particular position (e.g., kindergarten). Therefore we recommend retaining the broad elementary certification, while encouraging teacher-training institutions to offer programs which enable students to specialize in the K-3 grade range.

Teacher-Child Ratio

The Education Department guidelines for public kindergarten currently recommend one fully accredited teacher for every twenty-five children. This staff-child ratio, based upon the national average for kindergarten, was proposed by the 1967 Kindergarten Study. Parallel to the kindergarten guidelines, however, the Federal Inter-agency guidelines for child care programs outside the schools call for no more than a seven to one ratio of children to staff in programs for five-year-olds; these day care guidelines call into question the wisdom of the twenty-five to one kindergarten ratio.

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[1] J. Coleman et al., Equality of Educational Opportunity (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1966).

We have reviewed the relevant literature, trying to determine the best staffing patterns for public kindergartens. We were disappointed to discover that for both school programs and child care programs there is little good, experimental data linking specific developmental or educational outcomes with particular ratios of adults to children; we also found no evidence about how these ratios should vary, if at all, with the level of education and professional training of the teachers or other adults in the classroom. Despite this lack of empirical data, however, there is a consensus among experts on the matter of an optimal staff-child ratio, and certain generalizations can be made.

First, it is important to distinguish between a teacher-child ratio and a staff-child ratio. The gap between the recommended ratios in the state kindergarten guidelines and the Federal Inter-agency guidelines is smaller than it first seems, since the federal guidelines include paraprofessional aides and other auxiliaries as a part of the ratio, while the kindergarten guidelines do not. It is often the case that kindergartens also have other people in the classroom to help the teacher--student teachers, aides, or parent volunteers--and these increase the ratio of staff to children. Thus, the seven to one Federal Inter-agency ratio of children to staff is sometimes also attained in the kindergarten.

Second, kindergarten teachers, child development experts and parents generally agree that it is good to have student teachers and aides in the classroom, if these extra staff members coordinate efforts with the classroom teacher and understand the goals of the program as the teacher envisions them. During part of the kindergarten day, it is almost always desirable to have a number of simultaneous activities, and student teachers and aides are indispensible in such periods. Kindergarten teachers deploy them to work with part of the class, and thereby free themselves to concentrate on small groups or individual children. The student teachers and aides, while benefiting from the teacher's guidance, often conduct entire segments of the kindergarten class by themselves. One group of children may receive a lesson in elementary science, for instance, while another is hearing a story, and a third is gathered around a felt-board, participating in a prereading exercise. In our interviews and regional forums, many people pointed out that it is extremely useful to have at least one, or ideally two, such additional staff members working with the teacher in a kindergarten classroom of twenty-five children. We conclude that opinion among Massachusetts educators and parents about the correct kindergarten staff-child ratio turns out to be quite similar to the expert opinion which shaped the Federal Inter-agency guidelines for child care programs; most who have worked with kindergarten children feel a guideline of between seven to one and ten to one children to staff members in the kindergarten is needed. This supplements but does not contradict the twenty-five to one ratio of children to teachers currently recommended by the State Education Department.

Third, we note that many of the best classroom auxiliaries are student teachers, volunteers, parents, foster grandparents, or even older children; therefore reducing the staff-child ratio in kindergarten classrooms need not be as expensive as it would be if all the staff were certified professional teachers.

We recommend that the provisions regarding staff-child ratio in the state kindergarten guidelines be amended as follows:

a. Every kindergarten through third grade, while maintaining a minimum ratio of one fully certified teacher for every 25 children, should also maintain a ratio of one staff member for every seven to ten children. In no event should the staff-child ratio for five- to eight-year olds exceed 1:10. In most cases the appropriate staff-child ratio may be attained by adding two auxiliary personnel to the classroom to work with the teacher. The category of classroom auxiliary should be construed broadly, to include student teachers, volunteers, parents, foster grandparents, and older children as well as paid paraprofessionals.

b. Since it may not be possible for all school districts to provide two additional staff members in every K-3 classroom immediately, as an interim measure, for the immediate future a minimum of one such auxiliary should be required for every group of twenty-five children.

The Importance of Men Teachers

Historically, there has been an assumption that teaching in the early elementary grades is a job for women. This conviction, whether overtly or implicitly maintained, has been so pervasive that it has been rare for men to set foot in a kindergarten or a first, second, or third grade classroom except as casual visitors. The rationale for women teachers has involved the presumed need of young children for a mother substitute and the presumably greater need for males in the teaching of older children. In addition, often the availability of higher paying jobs has kept them out of the classroom.

In the past several years, there has been both increasing interest among men in early childhood education and an increased interest among good schools in hiring male teachers for kindergarten and primary grades. There is still a cultural problem of reconciling adult, male role definitions with the new male interest in teaching young children. Many men who would enjoy teaching in grades K-3 still fear they will be viewed as feminine, or somewhat deviant, by their fellows. But male participation in early childhood education is being legitimized by an increasing pay scale for teachers, by the recent recognition that early childhood is a period of genuine pedagogical importance, by the recent feeling among educators and psychologists alike that an absence of male role models in elementary school classrooms is unhealthy, and by a general reduction in sharp sex-role distinctions, particularly with reference to the care of children. We believe that placing men as staff members in the early elementary school is good, and we hope in the future that it will be actively promoted by local and state school authorities.

At present, the demand for male teachers is greater than the supply. Many districts have one or at most two men in their elementary schools, and are enthusiastic about adding more, but have a hard time finding eligible applicants. Although growing numbers of men are being trained in early elementary education, they are not yet emerging from preservice training institutions in large enough numbers to fill the needs of Massachusetts school systems. In addition, the turn-over and attrition of male teachers in elementary schools is great, often because the tentative commitment most men make to the job is dampened by the psychological isolation of being the only male teacher among a group of females. One school superintendent put it well:

> We had an excellent man last year, and I knew he would have stayed if we had just one more man to keep him company; but we did not, and he left; it can get lonely there without even one more male to talk to.

It is easy to make light of the awkward possibilities for a lone, male teacher in an elementary school; but school systems should be seriously attuned to such difficulties and should be careful where possible to help in "breaking the ice" by hiring more than one man at a time.

Some schools also involve men in elementary classrooms who are not full-time teachers. Project Male, in Arlington, is a good example of a program which brings fathers, and other males, into the school for part of the day in an attempt to involve them directly in class activities. The program has been widely heralded and represents a good way of introducing numbers of men to the system sooner than would be possible by only recruiting accredited teachers. We suspect such plans are as much a good educational experience for the men who help as for the young children they teach.

Part-Time Teaching Positions

Because we have elsewhere in this report recommended that more jobs be available on a part-time basis for both fathers and mothers who wish to spend more time with their families, we want to emphasize the possibilities for part-time jobs in kindergarten programs. Part-time work here is easier than in any other part of the school system (except possibly high school) because in most communities it is a double session day. One teacher can teach the morning kindergarten class with no added burden to children or parents. Despite this seemingly obvious fact, many school systems refuse to hire kindergarten teachers on a part-time basis. We urge them to reconsider this practice, and to avail themselves of the many people in any community--men as well as women--who would be excellent teachers but who cannot work a full teaching day.

Parent Participation

In deciding what kind of parent participation is desirable, it is necessary to ask "parent participation for what?" One goal is the exchange of information between a parent and his child's teacher, and this is well served by classroom visits and parent-teacher conferences. Another goal is to familiarize parents with aspects of the school program, and parent discussion groups have been successful here.

A third and more ambitious goal is "teaching parents to teach." A recent review of parent participation in Title I and Follow-through programs concluded that programs with clear parental involvement in the classroom and clear examples of parents working alongside a teacher with their children and other children were among the most effective ones.[1] We believe the participation of parents in the classroom as aides to the teacher holds great promise for helping parents be more effective at home, and for making the school program more effective too.

Many parents enjoy the opportunity to see how a teacher works with their child; observing an experienced classroom teacher, or working side-by-side with the teacher, can often enhance the parent's ability as a parent. Participation in the classroom can give the parent a new repertoire of activities to engage in with his or her child; the teacher can model new, and possibly more beneficial, styles of interacting with the child; and the teacher and parent can be presented to the child himself as two helping and closely associated adults. We know that much of the variability in children's school achievement can be traced to factors in the home rather than factors in the school. (White, 1971; Coleman, 1966) If parents are more influential in shaping a child's learning patterns and attitudes than even the best teachers, especially when the children are young, it seems wise to help parents learn how to help their own children.

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[1] Milbrey McLaughlin, "Parent Involvement in Compensatory Education Programs: A Review," Special qualifying Paper, Harvard Graduate School of Education, Center for Educational Policy Research, 1971.

The problems of working with large numbers of parents in the classroom could harry the teacher beyond reasonable bounds. But direct involvement by one or two parents at a time, on some regular basis, is well worth encouraging. We recommend that special attention be given to the DARGEE parent-training model, developed at George Peabody College, and other training schemes which actually incorporate parents in early elementary classrooms. Certain aspects of these model programs may be worth adapting to regular kindergarten classes and early elementary classes in the Commonwealth.

Title I and Follow-through programs have also demonstrated successful training and employment of regular parent aides in the classroom. Parent aides can serve the teacher well if they are well-attuned to the procedures of the classroom and can reduce the staff-child ratio to the advantage of the teachers. They can be especially helpful in the case of bilingual children. Regular employment as a parent aide, while necessarily limited to a few parents, is also a form of parent participation; it may even enable a parent to begin the necessary training for a new career as a child care worker or teacher.

D. After-School and Full-Day Programs

Many urban, working parents complain that kindergarten is ill-suited to their needs. Historically, the program has tended to be for half a day because educators have felt children were unready for a full-day program, because a full-day program often has been prohibitively expensive, and because the vast majority of mothers were in the home, able to take care of their children when the children were not in school. But because of the increase in women's labor force participation, the number of five-year-olds who have become "latch-key" children during their hours out of school has risen sharply. Thus there is an urgent and growing need for before-kindergarten and after-kindergarten child care.

The combining of child care and kindergarten is disapproved of by some. Day care has never been popular with school authorities. The case for kindergarten often has been made by contrasting educational merits of the kindergarten program with the presumed demerits of day care. There has been a complete denial that kindergarten offers custodial service for the busy parent or the poor parent, and it has been intimated that day care offers nothing more.

As we have noted in earlier chapters, distinctions between educational experiences in the kindergarten and those in an enlightened child care program are, however, difficult to support on research or even experiential grounds. School personnel and child care staff members should re-examine the similarities, and possible points of congruence, between the two types of programs. We feel, as a practical matter, that some care must be made available after class for young children with no place to go; we hope that past distinctions between kindergarten and child care will not obstruct the initiation of such programs.

The authorization to conduct after-school programs, which could include after-school care for older children as well as half-day care for kindergarten children, exists in the Extended School Services provisions of the General Laws for Education. Funds for such programs can come from a number of sources, among them monies under Title IV of the Social Security Act, which provides three matching federal dollars for every Massachusetts dollar (either local or state). The programs might be administered by the schools themselves, or, alternatively, might be sponsored by one of the Human Services Departments in coordination with the schools.

In most cases, kindergarten extension programs will involve additional space in the school or elsewhere, since other classes will still be in session, while after-school programs for older children will not. Thus, kindergarten extensions will tend to be more expensive, and use of existing day care facilities should be given careful consideration before any plans for new programs or facilities are made.

First priority should be given to solving the problems of low-income working parents. At a minimum, we recommend that the following steps be taken:

1. A complete list of funding sources for kindergarten extension and after-school programs should be compiled by a joint task force of the Education and Human Services Secretariats, and sent to all school districts with appreciable numbers of working mothers. The appropriate body

to work with education authorities in compiling a list of funding sources is the State 4-C Committee. The list compiled should be made widely available to local school districts and also to other local agencies with programs for young children. At a minimum, these additional agencies include Model Cities, local welfare agencies, local health agencies, public and private day nurseries, and day care programs.

2. Regional offices of the State Departments of Education, Public Health, and Public Welfare, as well as local superintendents, principals, and 4-C committees should make immediate efforts to begin kindergarten extension and after-school programs in areas with large numbers of working mothers.

3. There should be workshops sponsored by every regional office of the Department of Education to bring together child care and elementary school personnel to plan coordinated efforts. These workshops should be sponsored by regional offices of the Education Department and by local elementary school personnel, but also by local 4-C committees and interested Human Services agencies. There is a great need to bring together elementary school personnel and child care personnel.

While children of low-income working parents have special needs, they are not the only ones whose parents may prefer a full-day program, or a kindergarten extension. Some middle-class mothers, in particular, highly educated suburban mothers, feel they are entitled to extra time to pursue their own interests, do volunteer work, or perhaps take a job even though the additional family income is not of primary importance, and that children are often ready for a full-day program at the age of five. Increasingly, women are coming to see a reasonable length of free time in the day as their right, and parents are making demands for full-day programs. In Newton, currently there is an experimental full-day program, and in other cities and towns such programs are being considered.

While it is doubtful that the Board of Education should take a strong stand in favor of universal full-day kindergartens, it seems reasonable to encourage such programs when there is local interest in them. At present, no such incentive exists; in fact, it could be argued that a mild, negative incentive exists, since Chapter 70 reimbursements for half-day programs are already computed on the generous assumption that kindergarten is a full-day program and no increase in state aid will result from actually enlarging the program to a full day. We recommend that this dis-incentive be corrected by offering a Chapter 70 bonus for full-day programs which is large enough to preserve the current marginal advantage of kindergarten reimbursement over reimbursement for other grades.

E. Transportation Subsidies for Kindergarten Children

State aid for the transportation of kindergarteners was a recurrent topic in MEEP regional conferences. It was often pointed out that costs for transporting kindergarten children are higher than for other grades and, at present, are not adequately supported by the state aid formula. According to the categorical aid provisions now in effect, any child who must go more than a mile to school is included in the district's transportation reimbursement. Since younger children are less able than older ones to get to school on their own and since they need more supervision on the way, many districts feel it is appropriate to provide transportation for them even though they live closer to the school than the minimal reimbursable distance. In addition, kindergarten transportation tends to be more expensive in general because it must be offered four times a day rather than only twice.

We feel that higher kindergarten transportation costs should be acknowledged in the state reimbursement formula. We also feel, however, that the safety rationale in bringing children to school applies to the first, second, and third grades as well as the kindergarten, and we are reluctant to limit any recommendation for increased transportation aid to kindergarten alone. It seems more reasonable to establish a new formula for the entire K-3 grade range. For the future, we recommend that the Board of Education reduce the reimbursement limit for all K-3 children to half a mile. The effect of such a new transportation policy will be to reconcile the real needs of children with the state's method of compensation. It will also have the benefit, in the immediate future, of providing another indirect incentive for districts still without kindergartens to begin the program.

F. Bilingual Education in the Kindergarten

According to the Massachusetts Transitional Bilingual Education Act of 1971 (H.5427), every school district which has twenty or more children of "limited English-speaking ability" from any one foreign language group must provide a transitional bilingual program for those children for at least three years. Because it is easiest to learn a second language early in life, kindergartens should be the starting point for every bilingual program.

When the Transitional Bilingual Education Act specifies that the program must be "a full-time program of instruction" (lines 144-146), we understand "full-time" to mean "full duration of the school program each day," however long that program might be. It is the intent of the Act to ensure that bilingual programs not be mere components of ordinary programs but comprehensive efforts for the entire time the child is in school. Thus, a bilingual, half-day kindergarten should be considered a full-time program, eligible for special teacher certification and for reimbursement of special expenses such as teacher aides, community coordinators, under all the provisions of this Act.

Exemplary bilingual kindergarten programs need to be developed, described in writing and on videotape if possible, and made available to those about to initiate their own bilingual classes. Massachusetts already has a number of exemplary classroom programs and paraprofessional aide-training programs; impressive classroom efforts can be found in the school systems of Boston, Framingham, and Worcester, and training efforts worthy of wider dissemination include the Wheelock program, the Salem State PERCEPT model, and the program currently offered at North Shore Community College which has sustained many of the original PERCEPT goals since the Salem State Project ended. John and Horner (19) provide additional information on early childhood bilingual programs around the country.

We recommend that those in charge of bilingual programs for the State Department of Education prepare a manual of good kindergarten prototypes and actively promote them, through workshops, consulting visits, and all other practicable means.

In itself, the provision of bilingual kindergartens will not guarantee that children "of limited English-speaking ability" will be helped. There are special problems of kindergarten attendance because a higher than usual number of non-English-speaking parents do not send their children to school. Puerto Rican parents, for instance, have often preferred to keep their young children at home, partly because of traditional cultural preferences and partly because of the uncertain prospects of a worthwhile educational experience. The 1970 Report of the Task Force on Children Out of School[1] suggests that at least 48 per cent of Boston's Puerto Rican children are not in school. We assume the percentage is higher for kindergarten children, for whom school attendance is not compulsory.

Although, as recommended above, parental choice on kindergarten attendance should be final for all children, school districts have a responsibility to give parents information on programs available and on the importance of bilingual kindergartens for their children. Special kindergarten recruitment should take the form of a regulation or guideline requiring special efforts by local school officials, under the census-taking procedures or the parent participation rules of the Transitional Bilingual Education Act. This recruitment can be planned as part of the spring registration period described above.

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[1] L. Brown, et al., The Way We Go to School: The Exclusion of Children in Boston (Boston: Beacon Press, 1971).

G. Development of Early Childhood Education (K-3)

In our examination of early childhood education we have come to the conclusion that kindergarten should not be considered an isolated transitional year, between the "free" life of a child and the "rigors" of schooling. Rather, kindergarten should be seen as the first part of an integrated early childhood education which covers kindergarten through third grade. The establishment and further development of kindergartens thus should be used by the Department of Education to introduce and try out more effective ways of beginning school, not only in kindergarten but in the first four years of school.

Early childhood education provides an opportunity for the schools to involve parents and the community closely in the planning and working together in programs for young children and families. Lack of widespread parent and community involvement in the establishment of kindergartens has often made it difficult for school committees to give priority to kindergarten. Furthermore, although it requires greater effort, if parents are deeply involved, the resulting programs are likely to be more effective and meaningful to the community.

Early childhood education also provides an opportunity to innovate and try out new kinds of educational models for young children. It is difficult to become excited about simply "adding" kindergarten, one more grade and one more set of responsibilities, to each school district. What is needed is a sense of what five-year-olds and their parents need and a vision of what kindergarten can become as a part of a larger and more comprehensive introduction to effective elementary education for each child. One has only to visit a few well-staffed and imaginative classes of young children to become excited about the possibilities of providing for all children the opportunity to begin their formal learning in a setting that stimulates their curiosity and supports their eagerness to learn.

We are attracted to early childhood education models which involve classes of mixed ages and abilities and opportunities for each child to develop along the lines of his interests at his own rate. Our deeper commitments, though, are to provide parents and children with options meaningful to them and to promote a diversity of educational and care-providing forms.

Early childhood education also offers teachers an opportunity to introduce into the upper grades ideas and practices which are more child oriented and less centered on subject matter. Despite the fact that historically kindergartens have been more influenced by primary schools than primary schools have been influenced by kindergartens, well-planned and funded early childhood education programs for K-3 can have a marked beneficial effect upon the upper grades. There are good, though isolated, examples where such upward movement of curricular ideas and teaching patterns into the primary grades has been achieved, not only in individual schools but in whole systems.[1] Successful programs, however, have involved great effort in planning with parents, in careful teacher selection and training, all requiring more effort and producing more enthusiasm than had been expected.

Partnerships in Early Childhood Education

In order for the potential of early childhood education to be realized at the local level, the Legislature, the Executive branch and the Board of Education must provide strong leadership and active support to local communities developing early childhood education programs. The State Department of Education should take the initiative in building a supporting framework which can assist all local communities in defining their needs, planning, implementing and evaluating their programs.

In order to provide the kind of local support needed we recommend the development of what we shall call Partnerships in Early Childhood Education (PECE), local early childhood groups organized for planning, program development and training. Such partnerships should be designed to provide high quality examples of early childhood programs with built-in procedures for dissemination of program ideas and training to other communities. The partnerships should be designed within a set of broad guidelines.

First, they should involve parents in planning and implementing programs for their children. Too often parents are not consulted in decisions about their children's education, with resulting resentment and resistance toward the school system. Parents and teachers interacting together can provide greater continuity between home and family in the child's life. Such involvement, not only in planning but in working with their children's teachers, requires time and effort but is more likely to lead to programs which meet their needs and receive their support.

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[1] The Learning Institute of North Carolina (UNC) and The North Carolina State Department of Public Instruction have instituted a major K-3 development plan. See "The Development of Early Childhood Education in North Carolina Public Schools", Durham: Learning Institute of North Carolina, /1971/.

Second, there should be a systematic identification of the whole range of needs of parents and school-age children in the community. This should not be narrowly confined to needs for "schooling," and should include after-school, week-end, summer and emergency care programs.

Third, they should seek more effective ways to provide early childhood education, giving special attention to staff development. Staff training, the staff/child ratio, the use of aides, volunteers, teaching materials, schedules and space arrangements should all be viewed as an integrated whole.

Fourth, they should effectively utilize a broad range of local resources in planning and implementing programs, including private businesses and organizations, high schools, colleges and universities, as well as specialized services available from public agencies. Almost any healthy program will have multiple sources of support within the community.

Fifth, they should have an on-going evaluation process which feeds back information which can be used to make repeated incremental improvements in programs and in the partnership.

Sixth, they should be able to pass on to other communities what they have learned in the process of developing their own programs, especially ways to involve the total community in the process, staff development skills, and evaluations of innovative programs. There should be active dissemination of what has been learned.

In each region, school systems should be asked to indicate their interest in developing a proposal within this set of broad guidelines. Those indicating a serious interest should be invited to meet with the staff of the Regional Office of the Department of

Education to discuss the guidelines, suggest modifications and to develop further their ideas on the proposal. The guidelines should be kept broad in order to enable each school system to have maximum flexibility in developing its proposals. Formal proposals submitted should be evaluated by an advisory committee from another region.

Each partnership would normally involve an executive committee which would include at least one parent of a child aged five to eight, a K-3 teacher, elementary school principal, early childhood educator, and a school committee member. The committee should be small, not exceeding ten members. Each partnership should have a full-time coordinator experienced in training and supervision in early childhood education.

The partnerships should be funded by the State for a three-year period. The first year should be concentrated on planning, identification of community needs, preparation of program plans, and staff development. The second year should involve implementation of the planned program, and the third year should involve revision, based on on-going evaluation and assisting a new partnership community in its first year of planning.

Once established, each year a new partnership community would be selected and a "matured" partnership would be phased out of special funding. Thus each year three partnerships, each at a different stage in the three-year cycle, would work together as a regional team, meeting regularly with a Regional Early Childhood Education Supervisor.

Department of Education Structure

In order to implement the above plan the regional offices of the Department of Education should be assigned the major governmental responsibility and the budget for organizing and providing state-level leadership in the development of early childhood education (K-3). A Regional Advisory Committee for Early Childhood Education should be appointed in each region by the Commissioner of Education, which should include at least one parent, teacher of early childhood, primary school administrator, early childhood educator, and school committee member. The Commissioner should appoint for each region an Early Childhood Education Supervisor to be responsible for reviewing and facilitating the development and implementation of the partnership plans. The Advisory Committee should review recommendations for new partnerships and should advise the ECE Supervisor on all matters concerning the development of Elementary Childhood Education programs in the region. The Committee should meet no fewer than six times a year and should review and comment on the annual report of the ECE Supervisor to the Commissioner of Education.

In addition, the Commissioner of Education should appoint an Early Childhood Coordinator in the Department responsible for coordinating curriculum, staff development and budget for all K-3 programs. Only by clear integration of early childhood education responsibilities in the Department will it be possible to achieve the kind of coordinated and effective early childhood priority in the Department which is needed. The ECE Coordinator would require a small staff for planning and coordinating; however, the major effort and responsibility should be at the regional level. The Commissioner of Education, wellknown for his support of early childhood education, must have additional staff and budgetary support in order for this area to be developed adequately.

There should also be a statewide Advisory Committee on Early Childhood Education within the Department of Education which can advise the Commissioner of Education and, through him, the Secretary of Educational Affairs on ways to increase the effectiveness of early childhood education throughout the state.

Funding

Additional funds will be necessary in order for the above plan to be implemented. We consider an additional $3.00 per child a modest amount for the Legislature to commit to local program and staff development for early childhood education (K-3). With approximately 400,000 children in the age group, therefore, the funds needed total approximately $1.2 million. It is possible that a significant portion of this amount could be provided by the U.S. Office of Education (Education Professions Development Act), but the state would have to indicate its serious intent to give this area priority by investing its own resources as well. The rough outlines presented here indicate our sense of what is needed to develop early childhood education in Massachusetts into a meaningful and exciting experience for children and their parents. A detailed proposal, developed by the Department of Education with legislative backing, would probably have a good chance of federal support.

Quality early childhood education need not be scarce in Massachusetts. We have the human and financial resources required to make available exemplary early education to all our children. With vision and commitment on the part of the Legislature and the Executive branch of state government it can be done.

Table 5-1

Status of Kindergarten Implementation - November, 1971

School Year	KSCR* Number and Per Cent of Cities and Towns Expected to be Operating Public Kindergartens: Number	Per Cent	Number and Per Cent of Cities and Towns Actually Operating Public Kindergartens: Number	Per Cent	KSCR Voluntary Implement. Year	KSCR Assigned Implement. Year	Number of Cities and Towns Actually Added	KSCR Total Expected Kindergarten Enrollment	Total Actual Kindergarten Enrollment
1966-67	118	35.3	118	35.3	--	--	--	53,591	53,591
1967-68	138	41.3	132***	39.5	20	--	15	55,194	57,313
1968-69	157	47.0	170	50.9	19	--	38	59,246	60,553
1969-70	184	55.1	189	56.6	27	--	19	66,782	65,397
1970-71	265	79.3	202	60.5	24	57	13	74,212	65,272
1971-72	309	92.5	212	63.5	21	23	10	84,457	66,513
1972-73	325	97.3	---	---	2	14	21(?)	92,709	---
1973-74	334	100	---	---	1	8	101(?)	101,584	---
Totals	334**	100%	212	63.5%	114	102	95	101,584	---

*KSCR = Kindergarten Study Committee Report.

**17 very small districts exempted. For sake of comparability, these districts are also exempted from compliance total.

***Peabody closed its kindergarten in this year, so that although fifteen new programs were added, the new total shows a net increase of fourteen. Peabody is expected to reopen its kindergarten in 1972.

FIGURE 5-1

Number of Cities and Towns, minus exemptions

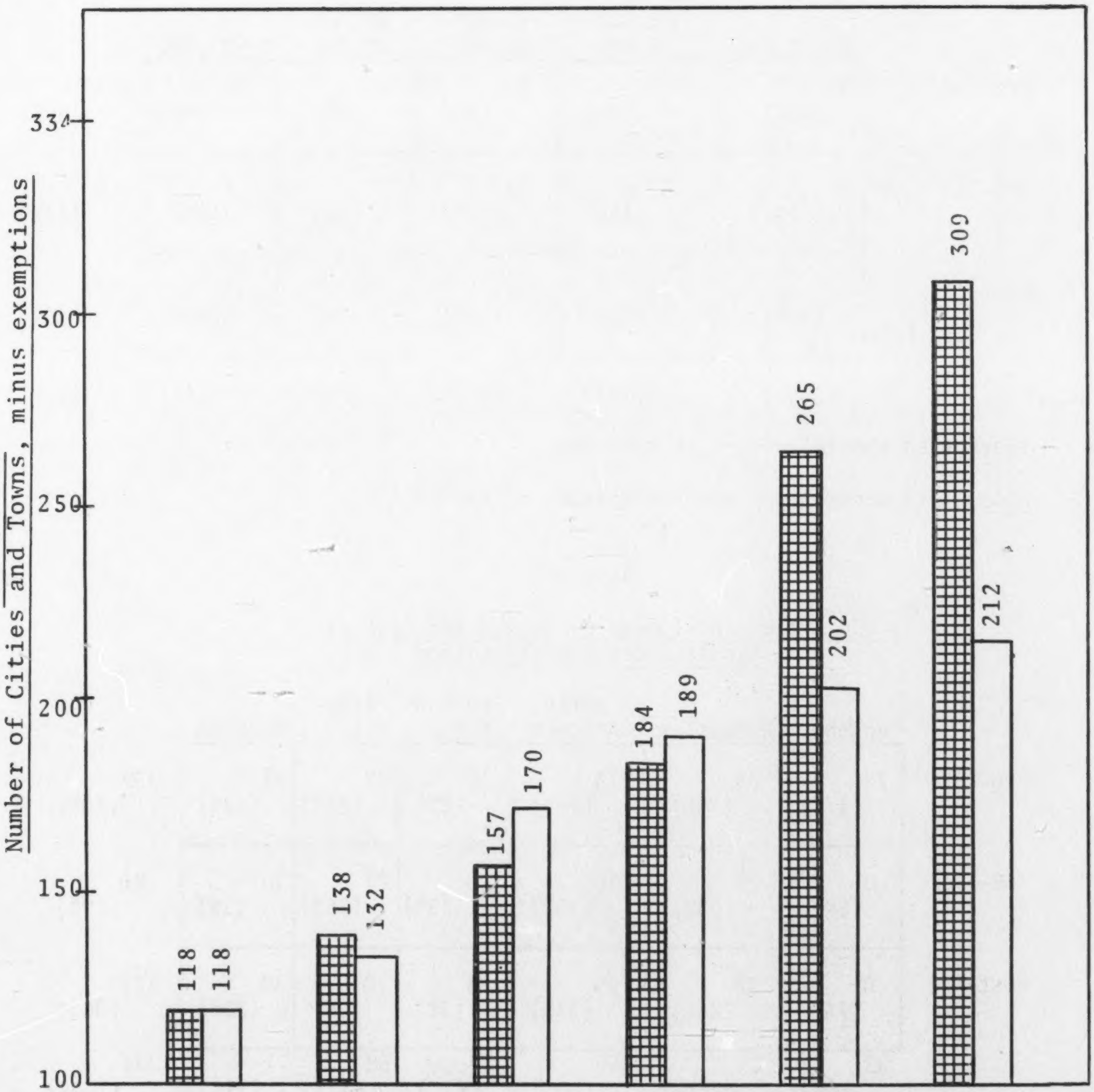

Table 5-2

334 Cites and Towns* by Total Population and Date of Kindergarten Implementation (1970 Census)

	0 - 5,000	5,001-10,000	10,001-20,000	20,001-30,000	>30,000	
Pre-'68	46 (35%)	24 (18%)	20 (15%)	10 (8%)	32 (24%)	132 (40%)
'68-'71	46 (57%)	12 (15%)	18 (23%)	3 (4%)	1 (1%)	80 (24%)
Post-'71	39 (32%)	25 (20%)	36 (30%)	9 (7%)	13 (11%)	122 (36%)
	131 (39%)	61 (18%)	74 (22%)	22 (7%)	46 (14%)	334 (100%)

*Seventeen special districts exempted.

Note: All percentages are percentages of row totals.

Table 5-3

334 Cities and Towns* by Region and Date of Kindergarten Implementation

	Boston	Worcester	North Andover	Springfield	Pittsfield	Wareham	
Pre-'68	22 (17%)	24 (18%)	18 (14%)	10 (8%)	27 (20%)	31 (23%)	132 (40%)
'68-'71	3 (3%)	26 (33%)	10 (13%)	10 (13%)	21 (25%)	10 (13%)	80 (29%)
Post-'71	8 (7%)	32 (26%)	38 (31%)	4 (3%)	10 (8%)	30 (25%)	122 (36%)
	33 (10%)	82 (25%)	66 (20%)	24 (7%)	58 (17%)	71 (21%)	334 (100%)

*Seventeen special districts exempted.

Note: All percentages are percentages of row totals.

Table 5-4

Means and Standard Deviations for 1968-69 School Statistics, Grouped by Date of Kindergarten Implementation

	Basic Statistics			
Variable Description	Name	Mean	SD	N
School Tax Rate		22.166	6.795	334
Group 1	PRE68	18.713	6.479	132
Group 2	68T071	24.924	6.646	80
Group 3	NONE	24.093	5.568	122
Prop.Value Per Student		26697.945	16121.301	332*
Group 1	PRE68	34006.305	21490.543	130*
Group 2	68T071	22674.250	10337.484	80
Group 3	NONE	21548.836	7347.492	122
Public Pupils		2875.068		333*
Group 1	PRE68	3897.166		131*
Group 2	68T071	1475.262		80
Group 3	NONE	2695.476		122
Local PPE		514.660	124.251	332*
Group 1	PRE68	536.356	143.076	130*
Group 2	68T071	514.925	115.476	80
Group 3	NONE	491.368	103.195	122
Total PPE		675.439	119.192	332*
Group 1	PRE68	691.251	122.715	130*
Group 2	68T071	687.993	134.643	80
Group 3	NONE	650.357	99.827	122

*Outlying values excluded from calculations.

Table 5-5

334 Cities and Towns by 1968 Local Per Pupil Revenue Levels and Date of Kindergarten Implementation

	Local PPE*			
	Low 1	Medium 2	High 3	Total
PRE68 1	40 (30.3%)	34 (25.8%)	58 (43.9%)	132 (39.5%)
68T071 2	22 (27.5%)	36 (45.0%)	22 (27.5%)	80 (24.0%)
NONE 3	49 (40.2%)	52 (42.6%)	21 (17.2%)	122 (36.5%)
Total Per Cent	111 (33.2%)	122 (36.5%)	101 (30.2%)	334 (100.0%)

*For definition of low, medium and high intervals, see variable definitions in Appendix A, Table A5-3.

Note: Lower Cell Entries are per cent of row totals.

Table 5-6

334 Cities and Towns by Total Per Pupil Revenues and Date of Kindergarten Implementation

	Total PPE*			
	Low 1	Medium 2	High 3	Total
PRE68 1	35 (26.5%)	45 (34.1%)	52 (39.4%)	132 (39.5%)
68T071 2	22 (27.5%)	30 (37.5%)	28 (35.0%)	80 (24.0%)
NONE 3	55 (45.1%)	43 (35.2%)	24 (19.7%)	122 (36.5%
Total Per Cent	112 (33.5%)	118 (35.3%)	104 (31.1%)	334 (100.0%)

*For definition of low, medium and high intervals, see variable definitions in Appendix A, Table A5-3.

Note: Lower cell entries are per cent of row totals.

Table 5-7

334 Cities and Towns* by Numbers of Parochial Students (1300 pupils or less, more than 1300 pupils, none) and Date of Kindergarten Implementation

	≤1300	>1300	None	
Pre-1968	42 (32%)	22 (17%)	68 (51%)	132 (40%)
1968-1971	13 (16%)	1 (1%)	66 (83%)	80 (24%)
Post-1971	42 (34%)	8 (7%)	72 (59%)	122 (36%)
	97 (29%)	31 (9%)	206 (62%)	334 (100%)

*Seventeen special districts exempted.

Note: All percentages are percentages of row totals.

Table 5-8

292 Cities and Towns* by Projected Increase in NAM 1970-75 As A Percentage of 1970 NAM (more and less than unweighted average projected increase) and Date of Kindergarten Implementation

	≤Average	>Average	Total
Pre-1968	56 (51%)	52 (48%)	108 (37%)
1968-1971	31 (45%)	38 (55%)	69 (24%)
Post-1971	72 (63%)	43 (37%)	115 (39%)
	159 (54%)	133 (46%)	292 (100%)

*Forty-two missing cases; seventeen special districts exempted.

Note: All percentages are percentages of row totals.

CHAPTER SIX

STAFF DEVELOPMENT

I. INTRODUCTION

Quality of staff is probably the most important part of an effective child care or educational program for children. This assertion is readily agreed to by most parents, child care workers and child development specialists. Given this consensus about its importance, it is surprising how little research information there is which is of help in deciding how to select staff, how they should be trained, what kinds of qualifications and levels of professional work should be formally recognized and certified. There are almost no evaluations or comparisons of selection procedures and training programs.

Thus,our many job descriptions and descriptions of exemplary training programs and their rationales are based on practical experience, logic and common sense. Job descriptions tend to be made up of lists of positive attributes which seem to be related to child care. Likewise, descriptions of good training tend to consist of inclusive lists of components which seem to be reasonably related to the jobs in the field.

There is a strong need for more research to help us identify those crucial variables which are important for child care staff. We need to know which variables can be used for selection prior to training or employment and which can be effectively taught as a part of a pre-service and/or in-service training program. We need to study the relative effectiveness of different kinds of training programs, and we need careful evaluation of different efforts to provide ongoing career development for those working in child care programs.

A. The Need for Staff

While valid estimates of the increasing need for child care staff in Massachusetts are not available, we roughly estimate that at the present rate of growth, not including any new child care funds, over the next decade there will be an annual net increase in demand for professionally trained preschool child care staff in Massachusetts of at least 700 to 800.[1] With the predicted accelerated rate of growth, the need will be correspondingly greater.

An analysis of the current output of early childhood training programs in Massachusetts indicates that few programs offer training primarily designed for preschool positions. A list of institutions which provide formal early childhood training at some level may be found as Appendix A6-1. A number of other institutions are either beginning or seriously considering beginning early childhood programs. Time and resources did not permit us to conduct a complete census of the effective output of existing early childhood training programs; however, it would appear that in Massachusetts approximately 700 students trained specifically for kindergarten programs are graduated each year. Thus the current gap between supply and demand of licensed teachers is not great.

Concurrent with an increased demand for early childhood professionals there is nationally a leveling off of demand for elementary school teachers because of the slowing of the rate of increase in the size of the elementary school age group over the next several years. The past twenty-five years have been a period of unprecedented growth in elementary and secondary school education in the United States. The total number of children enrolled in elementary and secondary school has doubled during that time. During the next decade there will be a general decrease in the overall rate of growth in the elementary schools. This trend will of course not affect each community uniformly. The core cities of the metropolitan Boston area will continue to decline in total population, including the lower ages, whereas the outer ring suburbs will experience marked increases in population.[2] Nevertheless the overall demand for new elementary school teachers will go down, and it can be expected that many persons who are trained as elementary school teachers will seek jobs in preschool programs. Training in general elementary education is not adequate for working with preschool children, and some shift in curriculum and the internship settings is needed. Infants and toddlers are quite different from school-age children, and specific training in such things as health care and family services is needed.

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[1] Based on U.S. Department of Labor estimates cited in Senate Finance Committee Child Care Hearings, Sept. 22, 1971.

[2] "Projected Population 1990," Metropolitan Area Planning Council, 44 School Street, Boston, Mass., April 1968.

At the moment programs do not seem to have difficulty in employing staff for child care centers. This is in part due to the general high level of unemployment, in part because of the longer-term slackening of demand for elementary school teachers, and in part because of the lack of prerequisites for child care employment which enable centers to employ untrained staff at low wages.

In our discussions with faculty and administrators of teacher training institutions throughout the Commonwealth we were impressed with the number who are seriously considering developing training specialties for early childhood workers. This should be encouraged. Provided we continue to support the kinds of redirection of resources toward early childhood and the natural growth in teacher training institutions already underway, it does not appear that there will be a critical shortage of academic training situations throughout the Commonwealth over the next several years. At the moment the relative needs for in-service training are far greater and should be given priority.

Since these conslusions are based on a limited sampling, further study of this area is needed, and we recommend that the Secretary of Educational Affairs examine closely the supply and demand characteristics of professionals in both the preschool and the elementary school areas and give serious consideration to expansion of in-service training programs through collaborative arrangements between public and private teacher training programs and child care programs.

B. Staff Functions

There is a fairly standard staffing pattern which can be observed in many child care programs about the country. Typically they consist of the director, an educational supervisor, head teachers, and teacher's aides. In addition, both administrative interns and teacher interns are found in some centers which are used for training purposes. In large centers there may also be family counsellors and community workers. The Task Force on Staff Development of the Massachusetts Governor's Advisory Committee on Child Development has described these and related positions, their responsibilities, skills needed and the kind of experience and training required for each position. These materials were prepared by professionals active in providing child care, and the positions described represent a consensus of what is considered good practice.[1] The reader is referred to this report for a detailed presentation of staff functions.

C. The Director

The role of the director of a program merits special attention since it seems to be the most crucial position both for the survival of the program and for its quality. The director's position typically involves extremely long hours, often sixty to eighty hours a week. It also involves a broad range of skills from curricular to personnel matters, financial management, public relations, staff development, etc. The Abt Study[2] of good child care centers found the director to be one of the variables most highly correlated with the overall quality of the program. It is no wonder that the good director is an extremely scarce resource and that it is consistently difficult to fill the position with a person competent to do the job well.

Because of the crucial nature of the director and of the scarcity of experienced and qualified persons for these jobs, it seems highly likely that the growth of quality child care programs will be dependent upon our ability to increase the supply of directors.

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[1] Task Force Report on Staff Development, Governor's Advisory Committee on Child Development. Boston, Mass., 1971.

[2] Abt Associates, Inc., A Study in Child Care 1970-71, Cambridge, Mass., 1971.

At the moment there is no standard way for a person to become a director. Often it is the best teacher who is asked to take over the administrative tasks. It may be someone who has a Master's degree who is thereby seen as qualified. In any case, there is no formal training program for directors of child care available. The very high rate of turnover may in part be due to the lack of training for this administrative task. Many are unable to hold the position for more than two years. Reasonable administrative staffing patterns and support increase operating costs but create a more effective program.

Provision of training for child care administrators should be given high priority, and serious consideration should be given by colleges and universities concerned with training child care workers to the establishment of specialized programs for child care administrators with appropriate administrative internships. This kind of training has clear priority over all other kinds of training at this point.

D. The Career Ladder "Problem"

Much has been said and written about the idea of "career ladders": a sequence of positions, graded for level of experience, skill and salary, which enables someone with little formal training or experience to begin at lower levels and systematically work up the "ladder" to higher levels of skill and income.

Career ladders have been hailed as the answer to unemployment and poverty and have been criticized as a snare and an illusion for the poor. Critics have been especially concerned lest multiple levels of job descriptions and salary result in persons becoming locked into a given level, functioning at the prescribed job with little opportunity to assume more responsibility and gradually move upward. Some fear that the rungs in the ladder may turn out to be gates that inhibit rather than facilitate upward movement.

What experience we have so far seems to indicate that both positions may be right, and that success or failure depends upon the way the program is organized and administered.

In the Family Day Care Career program of New York City, for example, it is reported that more than 1,890 mothers have received training as family day care mothers, and have worked in that capacity for some time. Many of them have moved on to higher level positions either in child care as teachers or supervisory staff, or into other positions in the labor market. This seems to be an unusually good example of how upward job mobility can occur within the context of child care. These women are given an initial two-week training program and then continued training once a week plus quarterly three-day training sessions, and supervision on the job by educational supervisors. The expectation is that the initial position as a family day care mother is not likely to be a permanent one for all of the mothers; they have a choice to move on to other positions in time, and a large number, in fact, have done so. It is important to note that this system seems to work well without any formal certification procedure. The selection and training is administered by the local program and does not require any state-level control.[1]

It seems that in order for career ladders to work a few conditions must obtain: First, positions must be available at the middle and upper levels of the ladder and not only at the lower levels. Second, the requirements for moving up the ladder must be such that the person can reasonably fulfill them while being employed at the lower level, rather than being forced to leave the job or live on a reduced income while being trained for a higher level position. Third, there must be the general expectation that persons may move up the ladder, and there must be visible examples of its having been done.

Priority should be given to a continuous monitoring and evaluation of career ladder programs to see to what extent they are actually fulfilling their promise. Without careful planning and informed public accountability such programs can have the effect of locking people into low paying jobs rather than enabling them to move upward.

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[1] Personal communication from Mary Jackson, Assistant Director of the Family Day Care Center Program, Human Resources Administration, New York City.

II. SELECTION

Given the tasks involved in child care and early education, it seems reasonable to believe that personality characteristics are extremely important in good child care. Some people really like little children, are warm and responsive to them, have a good sense of when it is important to set limits, when to hold them in their arms and when to let them work out a problem on their own. Probably even more than any particular style, it is important for the person to be relatively unconflicted about his own manner with children and adults. While some of these characteristics and skills may be enhanced by good training, it seems likely that careful selection, especially to eliminate those who lack the basic requirements of liking children and being responsive to them, could make a great difference in the quality of child care.

Unfortunately, as with so many other areas, we have very little data to support our collective wisdom about what personality characteristics are important in child care and how to select for them. Thus again we must rely upon the judgment of those who are experienced in child care. High priority should be given to research on the relationship between personality variables and quality child care and how to select for these characteristics.

Several factors are having the cumulative effect of greatly increasing the supply of those interested in child care and making greater selectivity possible. Children and education are being seen as increasingly attractive work areas both for men and women. The reduction in demand for elementary school teachers may make additional personnel available to work in the preschool area. With a greatly expanded federal involvement in child care the field will become increasingly visible and will probably attract an increasingly large number of people.

All of these factors will make it possible for more selectivity and greater care in selection. Since most staff selection will be done at the local level by trustees and parents groups who themselves are not professionally trained, training and guidance at the local level in both what to look for and how to make good selections is of high priority.

III. TRAINING CHILD CARE STAFF

There is a growing doubt among professional educators about the effectiveness of current conventional teacher training programs. Recent studies by the American Association of Colleges of Teacher Education and numerous technical popular reports about the effectiveness of schools have reflected the climate of uncertainty and self-doubt among many teacher training institutions. It is a situation which calls for serious rethinking of the training process and careful analysis of innovations which are proposed and being tried out on experimental bases.

Professional training for teachers has focused on teaching methods and subject matter rather than on understanding of the dynamics of learners and developing competency in dealing with individual needs. While some kind of internship is required, it is often brief, involving very little feedback about how to improve one's teaching ability.

We feel strongly the need for high quality child care staff. However, because of the dubious relationship between current formal academic training and the development of skills essential for quality child care, we cannot argue for a high level of academic training as a necessary prerequisite for working with children. Good child care training seems to involve close interaction between theoretical perspectives and the practical outcomes of one's behavior with children. Some effective ways to achieve this goal are through collaborative efforts between teacher training institutions and exemplary child care programs and in-service training institutes.

In-service training should be given high priority as a continuing process available to those actively providing child care. Such training is expensive and cannot be done by programs without specific funding over and above their normal operational costs. Such training should be separately budgeted and should be administered by a full-time person. The Board of Higher Education should provide incentives to both public and private institutions which establish such collaborative training programs.

As we have already pointed out, the demand for increased numbers of preservice early childhood training positions is at the moment not greatly out of balance with the supply. There is however a distinct shortage of well-trained child care administrators and staff trained as educational supervisors and in-service trainers. Priority in the preservice training programs should go to these two kinds of positions. Graduates of such programs would be prepared to organize new child care programs, provide training in family day care systems, and continuous in-service training and upgrading of staff in child care programs.

Job descriptions for directors and child care supervisors generally emphasize staff development functions. However, day-to-day administrative tasks, as well as the diversified backgrounds and needs of the persons in training limit the possibilities for a director or supervisor to plan adequately and conduct formal staff development programs. Frequently, staff development is an informal "program," conducted on a one-to-one basis, among small groups talking informally about day-to-day problems, or, at the rare staff meeting when most but not all staff members are available. Training for certification may be impossible within some programs. In the more heavily funded programs, with liaisons with two- and four-year colleges, the director's responsibility for development and supervision may be reduced.

Several models of training for those already working as staff in a child care program are worth consideration.

A. Teaching Center

A child care center or system can be designated a teaching center, usually in collaboration with an academic institution. Such a center receives supplementary training funds which enable the center to overstaff and to provide carefully supervised experience for trainees working in the center. Such a model, analogous to the teaching hospital, is operating at the Department of Public Health's Castle Square child care center with a liaison to Wheelock College. With proper funding this model can be quite effective.

B. Total Staff Training

A second model is one that periodically involves the entire staff of a given program working together on self-evaluation, planning, and training. This is difficult to do with 12-month programs offering full-day care, and sometimes has been possible only by using a weekend, which tends to even further tax an already overworked staff. It is probably better to plan long enough ahead and close down the center for at least a week each year, helping parents to make the necessary special arrangements for their children. Without such planning and training periods the program is less valuable to everyone.

C. Formal Academic Training

The costs of obtaining conventional training can be significant. A typical early childhood worker, besides family responsibilities, works a long day with limited time for in-service training or formal course work. Unless supplementary training funds are provided, child care programs cannot afford the extra staff necessary to free staff members for training during the work day. Substitutes are difficult to find. The early childhood worker who would like to advance is in the same position of the public school teacher of two decades ago: The salary levels are not commensurate with the dedication and time involved. For some potential trainees, welfare benefits are greater than salary. For a training program such as New Careers to succeed, the sponsoring agency provides salary, tuition-free courses at the convenience of the New Careerist, and a reduced work schedule, the latter often a source of irritation to the agency employing the trainee.

Provision should be made to allow staff to take subsidized leaves of absence in order to get further formal academic training. Many of those wanting and able to move up to more responsible training and administrative positions should be able to obtain such training in a concentrated manner, not just through night school, with some assistance from the state.

D. Educational Coordinator

Every program should have regularly available to it an educational coordinator who observes and counsels staff in the course of the working day. This can be extremely beneficial to staff, and programs should give high priority to having such a coordinator available even if only on a part-time basis. This kind of resource can effectively be shared by a group of small programs within a community.

IV. CONDITIONS OF SERVICE

Work in a child care program can and should be exciting and rewarding; however, often it is an exhausting, wearying job from which those who can escape. In a full-day program staff often have direct responsibility for little children for eight or more hours with few or no breaks. Many programs operate 52 weeks a year with inadequate provision for vacations. Often there is little opportunity for staff to interact with each other except for fleeting moments in the hall. The pay is low, and often the program is perpetually on the verge of bankruptcy. It is no wonder that the staff turnover is high at all levels, including trustees, and that only those programs which have a substantial and stable subsidy are able to provide satisfactory conditions of service.

There are a few basic conditions of service which seem necessary as minimum requirements for all child care programs. We do not propose these as satisfactory conditions of service but rather as minimal conditions which should be required of all child care programs. Programs which operate on such a tight budget that they are unable to meet these minimal requirements should either receive public subsidies which enable them to meet these conditions or cease to operate.

Wages

Wages for child care services should not be lower than the federal minimum wage. This is often not the case, especially in family day care programs.

Hours

Staff working with children under six should not be required to have direct responsibility for children more than six hours per day.

Load

Staff/child ratios should not exceed the Federal Interagency Guidelines for child care, approximately 1:7 for under six years old; 1:4 for infants.[1]

Vacation

At least two weeks paid vacation per year should be provided each staff member.

It is presumed that as the field grows, child care workers will organize themselves in order to be able to bargain collectively for their wages and general conditions of service. Until that time it is important to guarantee at least minimal conditions. Such requirements are essential in order to provide a minimum quality of care. In addition, they protect not only the worker but also programs from unfair competition from other programs which might pay their staff less and offer their services at lower fees.

V. CERTIFICATION

The need for certification and what certification should represent is under review at all levels in education. The intent of any certification process is to identify those who have achieved certain levels of competence within a profession. Certification identifies who is legally eligible to practice. Eligibility normally is defined in public education in terms of certain academic preparation and practical experience, in law as passing the bar examination, in specialized medicine as the successful completion of academic and on-the-job training and board examinations.

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[1] Staff/child ratios involve complex and not well-understood issues including qualifications of staff, hours worked, continuity, etc. The 1:7 ratio may be overly simple. It should include all adolescent and adult staff in direct contact with children.

The critical questions underlying any certification process are what is competence, how is it measured, what breadth of competence should be demonstrated, and to what levels.

A. Background

Presently Massachusetts has no certification procedures specifically designed for early childhood workers. The Department of Public Health requires for group day care centers that the director have a high school diploma, or equivalent, three years of experience in day care, and four courses in early childhood education; or, one year of college, two years of day care experience, and one course in early childhood education. A member of the professional staff needs a high school diploma, or equivalent, and one course in early childhood education. Course work for both may be taken after employment with no time limits imposed. A staff aide must be at least 16 years old. A kindergarten teacher has to be certified as an elementary (K-8) teacher. In any case, the existing standards only permit entry into a job and bear no relation to the quality of job performance.

In practice the qualification of personnel, whether good, bad or indifferent, vary considerably from program to program. In some cases, the Public Health requirements are never met. One area that has posed a particular problem is qualifications for directors. The lack of guidelines has prompted some selection committees to impose standards unattainable and unrealistic, demanding unnecessary and inappropriate qualifications. Potentially competent directors are sometimes not considered when they cannot meet all the expectations of the selection committee.

B. Performance Certification

Many of the problems and issues in certification have been presented in an earlier M.A.C.E. study on teacher certification.[1] The same problems apply to early childhood workers.

More than twenty states are seriously studying the possibilities for changing the emphasis in teacher certification from amount of academic preparation to on-the-job performance and competency. Vermont has recently placed the burden of evaluating competency on teachers at the local level. Each school district will have a certification committee composed of teachers to recommend teachers for certification after two years of successful teaching on a probationary certificate. The State of Washington issued guidelines effective in September, 1971, which specify local consortia composed of colleges, school organizations, and professional associations which will establish competency criteria in programs designed for specific roles or discipline categories. A consortium is responsible for identifying levels of competency and means for evaluation, with State approval. Florida and New York have made a definite commitment of performance-based certification, and Minnesota, New Jersey, Utah and Texas are now studying alternatives for implementation. A similar proposal received broad support and passed the Massachusetts House in 1971. It has been refiled for 1972 (H.923).

This bill provides for a two-year provisional certificate which may be converted into a permanent certificate on the basis of a recommendation from a local school district certification committee. It is a well-developed bill, and we support its passage.

The experience and lessons learned in teacher certification, in Civil Service, and in other human service professions should be applied to any proposal for certification in early childhood education. Certification for preschool child care programs is even more complicated than for elementary and secondary education where teacher roles and expectations are more narrowly defined. The need for diversity in types of jobs for different kinds of early childhood services (group day care, family day care, Head Start, health and family services, the exceptional child), and the different levels of competence needed within each type of service (aides, assistant teachers, teachers, head teachers, master teachers, supervisors, directors, specialists) require that proposals for certification have built-in flexibility. In addition, the variety of programs with different demands and needs, drawing on candidates for employment with diversified educational and social backgrounds, further complicates the certification process.

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[1] Lindley J. Stiles et al., Teacher Certifidation and Preparation in Massachusetts--Status, Problems and Proposed Solutions, A Study of the Massachusetts Advisory Council on Education, Boston, Mass., 1968.

In the fast growing and comparatively unknown field of early childhood education, standards too quickly imposed or standards not taking into account diversity and complexity may well retard or limit experimentation and growth. For example, consider the difficulty public education has in accepting paraprofessionals and the very little progress in developing new staffing patterns.

One almost unanimous conclusion in the selection of personnel, particularly for Head Start and other federally funded programs, is that formal education prerequisites as a condition for employment bear little relation to job competence in an entry level position. The recent study of exemplary child care done for OEO by Abt Associates found no correlation between "warmth" of a child care center and formal education of staff.[1] Numerous other studies support this lack of relationship between formal training and performance on the job, not only in education but in other professions as well. With proper training and supervision, employees with limited formal education can develop as rapidly as those with formal education. The limiting factor is for the individual who after some experience in a program wants to enroll in a collegiate level program and does not have sufficient academic and study skills; this concern has been reduced somewhat through efforts of two- and four-year colleges to give adequate support and guidance in these areas. However, because of some selection committees' concern for credentials, they often have overlooked experienced nondegree applicants in favor of the degree candidate who may have limited competence.

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[1] Abt Associates, Inc., A Study in Child Care 1970-71.

Nondegree employees believe it may be difficult to move from one program to another without beginning all over again or at a lower level. If there were general agreement on job requirements, widely recognized, they could probably more easily move within the broad range of early childhood services. They also feel that certification can serve as recognition for work accomplished, permitting more rapid promotion to positions requiring a greater degree of competence, either within the same program or at another program.

Hence, established standards can be a means toward defining competency to a governing board and director; to the staff member, a recognition, job security, and a marketable skill; to the recruit, a new career or opportunity, requiring minimal entry level skills.

Frequent reference has been made to competency and job performance. While many of the operational problems within programs and among personnel leading to certification can eventually be eliminated or reduced, there remains the question of what is competence and how it is evaluated. Do we evaluate behavior or the outcomes of that behavior as seen in children, or both? While certain staff behaviors can be isolated, the effects on the behavior of children are far more difficult to evaluate. A teacher may be very warm and responsive to a child's needs, but what effect does this have on the child? In a recent NEA booklet,[1] four pages of "specific examples of functioning consistent with desirable goals" are listed, each describing a teacher behavior but without describing the effect. The best one can say is that the behaviors probably would not harm a child. We do not know the relation between teaching behavior and outcomes, what behaviors result in what kind of outcomes. (The U.S. Office of Education has sponsored the development of ten comprehensive elementary Teacher Education models describing teacher behavior in terms of competencies; yet their effects upon children are not demonstrated.)

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[1] "Preliminary Report of the Ad Hoc Joint Committee on the Preparation of Nursery and Kindergarten Teachers," National Education Association, 1968.

We can observe a teacher or assistant teacher working with children over a period of time, and can judge, as an overall estimate, whether he or she is doing a good, bad or indifferent job. But this does not help to describe what staff should do competently. It does not help identify the desired outcomes.

Henry D. Schalock has raised many of the questions that should be addressed before competency based certification can be implemented.[1] What classes of teaching behavior should be demonstrated? Who is to determine what they are? In what kind of setting? How many settings? What are the criteria for successful performance? Who will determine these criteria? Who will assess? How much variance in behavior is acceptable? Is each category of personnel in a given program expected to perform to the same criterion level on the same set of teaching?

In terms of learning behaviors or products of teaching: What instructional and non-instructional outcomes are to be realized? Who is to determine what these outcomes are? What is success at realizing an outcome? With different groups of children in different settings or one group? Should a teacher demonstrate that he or she can bring about a given outcome for different groups of children or different individual children? How many outcomes must be demonstrated in order to meet certification requirements? How much variation is tolerable across students within a given program, or given age, or several age groups? While many of these questions can never ben answered in any final way, they illustrate the conceptual and technical complexity involved in establishing a useful performance based system of evaluation.

Despite the problems inherent in competency based certification, it should remain the goal of early childhood personnel. In a fast growing field, with emphasis on hiring of people with low-level entry skills and programs assuming the obligation for on-the-job training, competency based certification seems to be an important solution in a multileveled profession.

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[1] Henry D. Schalock et al., "Motion Pictures as Test Stimuli: An Application of New Media to the Prediction of Complex Behavior," Monmouth, Oregon: Oregon State System of Higher Education, Teaching Research Division.

Certain criteria should be met in developing a policy on certification of early childhood workers:

(1) Standards should not be so specific as to exclude experimentation and flexibility.

(2) There should be several alternatives for achieving certification.

(3) Certification should be a measure of competence on the job.

(4) It should provide for career development in multilevel phases.

(5) It should be adaptable to changing conditions.

(6) It should recognize work experience and on-the-job training.

(7) It should be sufficiently broad based so that a person may move between different categories of early childhood work.

(8) It should be specifically applicable to ages 2 to 8.

(9) There should be increased opportunities for individual growth and development.

(10) It should be implemented only after extensive research and development and pilot demonstrations which show it is technically and administratively sound.

Thus we endorse the principle of performance certification for early childhood staff but recognize that there are substantial technical problems in developing an adequate procedure which will be both responsive to the diversity of goals and styles of child care as well as meaningfully reflective of different levels of quality. Without proper care and attention, an immediate program in certification could effectively retard progress toward new forms of staff development and relationships in a field that is just beginning to be developed.

In addition to the technical problems of determining competency, the administrative costs of establishing such a program for all child care workers would be enormous. State government is not organized to mount such a program. Given scarce resources and the substantial costs of administering such a program, it seems much more important at this time to concentrate available resources on staff training rather than on measurement of staff for certification purposes.

Thus while we support the concept of performance certification and specifically support the current proposals for performance certification of public school teachers, we recommend against the immediate establishment of a certification procedure for early childhood workers in preschool settings.

We are not suggesting that efforts toward competency based certification should be abandoned. Rather, the certification processes should be developed with care to ensure that the certification process once developed recognizes qualified personnel without eliminating opportunities for potentially qualified personnel. An effort should be made immediately to begin collecting the data and information necessary for a successful certification program. This should be a joint effort involving providers of child care, parents, professional educators and State agency staff.

Because of the crucial role of the director in child care programs we feel that first priority for performance certification should be given to certification of child care administrators. Since the total number is sufficiently small and the need sufficiently great, we recommend the establishment by the Secretary of Human Services of an *ad hoc* committee to develop a performance certification system for child care directors.

To implement this recommendation, we suggest that the Secretary of Human Services appoint an *ad hoc* committee to review nominations from agencies, training institutions, and any other source of directors they consider to be competent. Members of the *ad hoc* committee will visit and observe the programs of nominated directors. The *ad hoc* committee will recommend that certain directors, on the basis of the overall quality of their programs be certified and appointed members of a Board of Examiners. All directors presently employed will be issued provisional certification for two years. Within the two-year period, three members of the Board of Examiners will observe a director's program and then make a recommendation for permanent certification.

To be licensed, a program would have to be headed by a certified director. If a certified director leaves, the program must be relicensed on the appointment of a new director. New directors without prior responsibility as a director or who are from out of state will be issued a two-year provisional certificate until evaluated by three members of the Board of Examiners. The Board of Examiners will establish the performance criteria for evaluation. This process will take much time and effort to establish; it is anticipated that at least three full years will be required before such a program is fully operational.

C. A Child Care Staff Registry

There is an immediate need to have some intermediate procedure, less complex and expensive than performance certification, which can provide a service to child care workers and programs and which would protect those who are successful in their present employment and who should have some assurance that their previous experience will be recognized as they move from one position to another.

Hence we recommend that the Secretary of Human Services assume responsibility for establishing an information clearing house and registry of child care workers.

Such a registry would serve three purposes.

(1) It would function as a placement office. The registry would keep a record of early childhood workers including experience, formal training, letters of recommendation.

(2) It would serve as a source of public information on opportunities for training and work in the child care field.

(3) It would provide a means for collecting information about child care personnel in a an effort to better define child care roles and competencies and to better plan for future needs.

A state registry can serve many useful functions. The information can be used to characterize the several levels of early childhood workers; it can be used to locate the demand for specific types of workers for specific programs and to make available a list of trained substitutes on a regional basis. It can generally identify sources of manpower, training programs, and demand and supply. In addition, given specific information about individuals presently employed and operating at different levels of competence with different degrees of success, the registry could begin accumulating information toward competency based certification and defining who should be certified. The registry staff could then begin to evaluate prior training and experience and on-the-job behavior and begin to select the criteria for evaluation. A broadly based committee should be established to advise, assist and react to the development of criteria for evaluating competency. This committee should also assume the responsibility for development of any certification processes.

D. Early Childhood Specialization for Teachers

This chapter has been addressed primarily toward personnel other than teachers employed in schools. In some ways, this reflects the dichotomy between school and preschool programs. Unfortunately, this dichotomy also exists between the collegiate preparation of kindergarten and elementary teachers, on the one hand, and the training of staff for preschool and child care programs on the other. For example, in the MEEP survey of colleges, most provided opportunities for supervised early childhood field experience in either school settings or other programs, but not both. With the present oversupply of elementary teachers, more academically trained personnel are available for preschool and child care programs. For the most part they have not worked with preschool children and require additional training and supervision. Similarly, public school administrators rarely take advantage of the knowledge and experience gained in preschool programs.

A person well-trained in early childhood education should be able to move freely among all programs affecting young children. School committees should be able to employ the experienced day care or

Head Start teacher, regardless of whether they hold an elementary certificate. Colleges should design programs for early childhood education teachers to work with children ages two to eight in a variety of settings and programs, in addition to providing programs for general elementary teachers.

As we have indicated earlier in this chapter, we support the proposed changes in the teacher certification process currently before the Legislature (H.923). In addition, we recommend the following amendment to the bill.

A provision in the Statutes should be made for a specialization in early childhood education which would reflect training and experience in working with young children ages two to eight, roughly corresponding to preschool programs and the K-3 grades. Such a specialization would help bridge the gap between preschool, kindergarten, and the early elementary years and would also give overdue recognition to the special skills required in working with young children.

The current elementary certificate covers much too broad a range of years. Since we are moving to performance criteria for certification, the certificate should reflect the age groups with which the teacher has demonstrated skills. This would not be a separate certificate but rather an optional specialization which could be requested and, if approved, would appear on the certificate as a specialization.

VI. SUMMARY

Nothing is more important in the quality of child care programs than the quality of the staff, and high priority should be given for developing more effective ways to select and train child care workers. Good directors are the most crucial shortage and should be given priority in preservice training programs. In-service programs, properly funded and organized, can be highly effective in improving the quality of program staff, and high priority should be given to the support of such training.

Performance certification is needed, but it is both technically difficult and very expensive. Training programs, especially in-service training, have clear priority over certification at this point. Efforts to bridge the gap between the training and recognition of preschool and early elementary staff are important, and the availability of an early childhood education specialization within the elementary teacher's certificate would be a useful step in that direction.

CHAPTER SEVEN

EVALUATION OF CHILDREN AND PROGRAMS FOR CHILDREN

This chapter concerns ways in which systematic evaluation can and should be used to improve decisions about children and programs for child care and early education. We examine different kinds of evaluation which are used for individual and program decisions and make recommendations concerning ways to improve their use.

A basic orientation which we bring to this study is that whenever possible evaluation should be used to enable individuals to make meaningful decisions concerning their lives rather than being used to reduce or eliminate one's ability to choose. Far too often our social institutions have removed choices from individuals and placed those decisions in the impersonal context of an institution where professionals, administrators, or politicians decide what they think is best for individuals. While some such decisions may be necessary, too little attention has been paid to ways organizations can facilitate responsible individual choices. Throughout this report we have been seeking ways in which institutions and programs can be organized to be reactive to individual needs in such a way as to facilitate meaningful choice and options on the part of the persons they are organized to serve.

Evaluation is central to this process since some kind of evaluation forms the basis for every decision. In the child care area evaluation may involve extensive testing and interviewing of a child, for instance, to make the decision to provide special training. It may involve the quick impression of a teacher that he should help a child with a math problem. It may involve an administrator's assessment that employing two part-time aides would be better than hiring one full-time teacher, or a legislator's sense of the need and demand from her constituency for improved children's services in voting for a child care bill. Each of these decisions--and every decision--is preceded by some degree of evaluation. Here we are focusing on formal ways to organize that evaluation process in order to increase the likelihood that the decisions lead to the desired outcomes.

An examination of systematic evaluation procedures is especially important to individuals. The use of evaluation,with its special techniques and knowledge, has frequently resulted in excluding others from participating in decisions. Under the banner of the need for professional competence to understand special problems, professionals have too often assumed the right to make decisions for others rather than to provide them with the means to make meaningful decisions for themselves.

There is an increasing reluctance on the part of the public to accept the role of professionals as those who unilaterally decide what is good for their clients. We feel that this is a trend to be encouraged, but that, if it is to be responsible, improved means for providing the public with the information they need in order to make informed decisions must be developed.

It should be emphasized that the shift in decision-making responsibility from the professional toward the client does not eliminate the need for professionals. It calls for a redefinition of their role and authority over other people's lives, and of the way in which they work with their clients. They must become transmitters of knowledge and techniques rather than protectors and guardians of such knowledge.

This is the context within which we review some of the major uses of evaluation concerning children and programs for children and suggest guidelines for development of evaluation as a means of enfranchising parents and their children.

I. EVALUATION OF CHILDREN

For little children the most difficult evaluation problem is that of determining their developmental levels with regard to special needs in order to help decide what kinds of care and education they should have.

A wide range of developmental levels exist in any age group of young children. These may result in learning problems when a mismatch exists between the needs and abilities of children and characteristics of the learning situations in which they are placed. We are concerned with both the value of developmental evaluations of individual children to teachers and parents in helping them to meet each child's needs most adequately and with the dangers inherent in misuse of test results.

Sections of Chapter 46 of the General Laws of Massachusetts require the School Committees of each town to ascertain those children who are mentally retarded, physically handicapped, emotionally disturbed or have specific learning disabilities. For some, these terms define children with special needs.

As an alternative, Blatt, in the M.A.C.E. report on Handicapped and Disadvantaged Children and Youth, has defined a school-age child with special needs as a "child who, because of temporary or more permanent adjustment difficulties arising from intellectual, sensory, emotional, physical or perceptual factors or any combination thereof, is unable to progress effectively in a regular school program and requires special classes, instruction periods, or other special education services in order to successfully develop his educational potential."[1] Thus, according to Blatt's definition, nearly every child is at some time a child with a special need and is entitled to special services. A logical extension of Blatt's argument is that a child with a potential special need should also be eligible for special preventive services. Why wait for the problem to become manifest before providing special services which would prevent the problem from occurring?

This concept of special needs is attractive in the main, but it is also full of potential for misuse. It is attractive since it reduces the tendency to label children as abnormal or normal. It acknowledges that everyone has special needs at one time or another, of varying kinds and intensities. Thus it reduces the tendency to separate people off into categories in which they become fixed, both in our minds and in theirs. On the other hand, by eliminating these distinctions it can become a way of avoiding our responsibility to provide the kinds of services needed to be responsive to special needs. Thus our task is two fold: developing valid ways to become sensitive to the special needs we all have, and increasing our ability to respond to those needs effectively.

A. Validity of Identification of Need

Early identification of special needs through the use of standardized tests has been studied extensively. If one can identify special needs early, before they become manifest problems, so the argument goes, then the problem can be dealt with more easily and the child can develop more normally. The use of tests and other formal evaluation procedures, however, is increasingly coming under attack for a wide variety of reasons.[1]

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[1] Burton Blatt, Massachusetts Study of Educational Opportunities for Handicapped and Disadvantaged Children, (Boston: Massachusetts Advisory Council on Education, January 1971), p. 307.

First, tests are often inaccurate in their results. Especially with young children they have generally low reliability and validity. Studies of the amount of misdiagnosis and the degree of disagreement between competent testers about a diagnosis have raised serious questions about the validity of standardized tests for use in making important decisions about individuals.[2] In Boston, for example, the report of the Task Force on Children Out of School documents a high number of children from non-white, non-middle-class backgrounds who are currently misplaced in special classes for retarded children.[3]

A second basis for attack is that the tests are often poorly administered and misinterpreted by persons who are not well-trained. Control over published group tests is practically nonexistent,and misuse of such tests is common.

Third, tests have often been used as a basis for making decisions about a child without the parents' involvement. Although parental involvement in placing a child in a special class is in many school districts the rule rather than the exception, there are many cases in which this has not happened. Parents are beginning to object to being left out of such decisions, especially when they are based on questionable test results.

Fourth, labelling a child does not necessarily result in any effective educational intervention to meet his special needs. Often after a child has been identified as having a special need, correctly or otherwise, appropriate services are not made available to him. Too often children have been segregated into "special" classes which serve only as a "dumping ground" in which the educational program is partially or totally inadequate. Thus testing can be a way of avoiding the need to deal with special needs rather than a first step toward dealing with them constructively.

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[1] Sterling L. Ross, Jr., Henry G. DeYoung, and Julius S. Cohen, "Confrontation: Special Education Placement and the Law," Exceptional Children (Sept., 1971), pp. 5-12.

[2] Mortimer Garrison, Jr., and Donald D. Hammill, "Who Are the Retarded?" Exceptional Children (Sept., 1971),

[3] L. Brown, The Way We Go to School (New York: Beacon Press, 1971).

Finally, the harm that can be done by labelling can be irreparable. The effects of knowledge of test results upon teacher and parent expectations and behavior and, most important, upon the expectations and sense of worth of the child has been well documented.[1] Although there has been continuing controversy over the correct interpretation of these and similar studies, there is clear evidence that teacher and parent expectations have a major effect upon a child's behavior quite independent of the true abilities of the child. Many children have been inappropriately labelled for life as a result of invalid testing.

Ross *et al.*,[2] in reviewing these reactions to testing of children, notes the increasing number of law suits and class action cases which are being successfully argued in the courts, sometimes with substantial financial compensation for damages against institutions using tests. He concludes that intelligence and personality tests need to be carefully reviewed and revised in order to ensure that they are valid and nondiscriminatory, and that educators should re-examine their use of tests for classification purposes.

Outlawing all testing and keeping all children together in heterogeneous groups will not guarantee thriving children. We must be responsive to the special needs of children. A full treatment of programs and procedures needed for children with special needs was the subject of a recent report[3] and is beyond the scope of our study. Nevertheless, we make the following limited recommendations because of the importance we place on providing all children with appropriate individualized education in regular classroom settings and because of the special responsibilities which such a policy places on parents and teachers. Our recommendations deal with screening procedures, provisions for protecting the rights of children, and parents, classroom placement, teacher training, and legislation.

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[1] Robert Rosenthal and Lenore Jacobson, *Pygmalion in the Classroom; teacher expectation and pupils' intellectual development* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968).

[2] Ross *et al.*, "Confrontation: Special Education Placement and the Law."

[3] Burton Blatt, *Massachusetts Study of Educational Opportunities for Handicapped and Disadvantaged Children.*

B. Screening Procedures

Certain kinds of physical problems such as difficulties with vision, hearing, psychomotor coordination, sickle-cell anemia, lead poisoning, and some speech problems can be identified with a high degree of accuracy through careful examination procedures, even at an early age. Many children's problems can be identified at the pre-natal and peri-natal stages. There is strong evidence concerning the relationship between prematurity, medical complications during pregnancy and abnormalities in children later in life.[1] These conditions are also highly related to socio-economic conditions, however, and it would be a mistake to conclude that we have established any clear causal relationships in this area. Nevertheless there is sufficient evidence that healthy conditions before and immediately after birth are an asset to later life for us to urge the development of improved pre-natal and well-baby clinics, especially for those who would not otherwise obtain such care. It may be that one of the most important programs that can be developed for children is good pre-natal and peri-natal care. Community-based multi-service centers and improvements in the delivery of well-baby services for routine screening and treatment of physical problems is of high priority in order to reach children with such problems as early as possible.

Such care is not now universally available, however, and many children are not given regular medical check-ups which might be used to identify physical problems. Schools therefore have a special importance since by age five or six virtually every child is enrolled in them. Thus we strongly recommend that there be a medical screening examination required for all children in the Spring of the calendar year in which they have their fifth birthday, in order to identify any physical problems requiring special care. This examination should be held in connection with the mandatory registration of five-year-olds with the school system which we have recommended in Chapter Five. They should involve a thorough physical examination including a dental exam and screening for visual, auditory, and psychomotor problems, physiological examinations for sickle-cell anemia and lead poisoning, and identification of speech defects. A medical history and the necessary immunizations should be included.

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[1] Eli M. Bower, "Mental Health" in Robert Ebel et al., Encyclopedia of Educational Research, 4th ed., (London: Macmillan, 1969), p. 823.

Identification of needs is not enough, however. Any child who has been identified by such a screening procedure as having a special need should have the right to services designed to correct the problem or help the child deal with it. The Department of Education should formally be responsible for administering the examination and for ensuring that the special needs of all such children are given appropriate treatment.

While certain physical problems can be identified accurately, we do not have comparable means for early identification of mental health and social adjustment problems. Although extensive research has been conducted in this area, we lack any formal testing procedures, applicable on a scale so as to be usable in a screening process, which can validly identify in young children potential mental health problems.[1] The best predictor of mental health and adjustment in the school setting seems to be the teacher and peer ratings, using information drawn from the routine involvement with the child rather than any formal testing procedure. Even these ratings are not highly predictive,but they can be useful in classroom planning.

Furthermore, intelligence and personality test results have repeatedly been used as a means for tracking or grouping children into different "levels," presumably in order to be able to respond in a more focused manner to their particular needs. The effect of this tracking often has been to lock a given student into a set of academic and personal expectations based more on his socio-economic background than on his personal qualities and potentials.

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[1] Bower, "Mental Health."

We conclude that routine preschool screening should not involve intelligence and personality tests. While some argue that such information is helpful to the individual teacher in being responsive to the needs of each child, it is our sense that the dangers of inappropriate misclassification and misuse are far greater than the benefits which such test results provide. As has been repeatedly shown, test results can become a self-fulfilling prophecy which remove responsibility of the teacher and the school, "explain" why the child is not progressing, and leave the child without the help he needs.

Special testing involving intelligence and personality estimates should be used only in connection with an active and individualized program, as discussed below, to meet the special needs of the child. They should not be used for general classification purposes.

To summarize, we recommend the increased use of pre-natal and peri-natal clinics to identify and treat medical problems in children as early as possible. We recommend a mandatory medical screening for specified physical problems at the age of five when the child registers with the school system. We recommend that any child who is identified as having a special need at the time of that screening has the legal right to treatment of that need. We recommend that intelligence and personality testing not be included in any routine pre-kindergarten screening examination for young children.

C. Developmental Evaluation

We should discard general diagnostic classification procedures for children and replace them with developmental evaluation procedures. Developmental evaluation involves functional descriptions which concentrate on the specific skills a child has and identifies those additional skills he may be ready to develop, rather than describing him in terms of his failures, weaknesses and deviations from a norm. It involves a positive, educational perspective rather than a negative, medical illness view.

Developmental evaluation, for the purpose of planning individual pupil programs, should focus on the child's different abilities, identifying his levels of development in the context of planning his further development. This requires the teacher to be skillful in classroom observation, recognition of the component skills required for success in each learning activity, and in the adaptation of curriculum and learning environments to meet the varied needs and abilities of individual children.

Developmental evaluation should not be based on a single method assessment and should not involve extensive individual testing with standardized tests. It should involve repeated monitoring of the development of physical, cognitive, and social abilities and should not be used to label or track children.

Parents should be involved in the developmental evaluation and planning in order to become more knowledgeable about their child's development and to become partners in the learning process. If the connections between home and school are mutually supportive, they can provide a cumulative benefit to the child's growth.

There are a number of pilot programs using this kind of developmental evaluation with teachers and parents[1] and more efforts along these lines are needed. We have become so accustomed to thinking about special needs in terms of deficits rather than strengths that it will take a great deal of re-learning on the part of many before a more positive approach to special needs can be widespread.

D. Classroom Placement

We support the view that children with special needs should be integrated into regular educational settings to the maximum extent possible. Even in those cases where separate classes may be necessary, the goal should be to keep the child in a regular setting for as much of each day as possible and to work systematically toward full integration into regular classes.

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[1] Bruce Baker, "Project Read: A Training Program for Parents of Retarded Children." (Proposal to National Institutes for Child Health and Human Development.) Cambridge: Harvard University, 1971.

In those cases where a child must be separated temporarily or partially from regular educational settings the teacher/child ratio should not be less than 1:7, and in the case of a teacher and an aide, 2:12.

If most children are to be taught in regular classes, teachers must have a class size and support which makes it possible to individualize instruction. Thus we have recommended in Chapter Five that in regular classrooms for grades K-3 the staff/child ratio be no less than one teacher and two aides in a class of twenty-five children.

E. Teacher Training

Simply keeping children together in heterogeneous classes will not in itself provide good education for each child. Most classroom teachers are not currently prepared to teach such heterogeneous groups of children as we are recommending. They need additional support and must be able to receive training in ways to individualize instruction for each child with whom they work. This will involve training in how to identify needs and individualize learning, how to help individual children set reasonable goals for themselves, and to provide the kinds of support each child needs.

Our proposals place great responsibility on the individual classroom teacher, and they will need support from specially trained educators who can be available to teachers for consultation and assistance in special cases. Thus, the role of the curriculum supervisor, who should be a specialist in general education methods, developmental evaluation and individualizing instruction to individual needs, becomes increasingly important, especially in the first few years of school.

Our recommendations in Chapter Five concerning the development of Partnerships for Early Childhood Education, calling for extensive staff development and parent involvement in grades K-3, is an important element in making it possible to include children with special needs in the regular classroom.

F. Rights of Children and Parents

We have emphasized throughout this report the importance of children and parents making their own informed decisions as much as possible. Thus we endorse the Department of Mental Health regulations recently developed for the protection of the rights of children and parents. Any major decision about the child should involve the parents. Any alteration in a child's educational status, such as an assignment to something other than a regular class, should be done only after due notice, presentation and discussion of evidence of the need for such an assignment with the parents. In such cases parents whose children are assigned or reassigned to a class other than a regular one should be entitled to a public hearing, to be conducted by the Commissioner of Education or his designee at a time and place convenient to the parents. Parents should not merely be presented with evidence but brought into the decision-making process, and only in the most unusual cases should the school act directly contrary to the parents' wishes.

Parents of children with special needs should also be eligible for free training, provided by the school, in ways to help their child more effectively. It would be reasonable to require that the school make available special training to the parents of any child who is placed in any kind of special education group either temporarily or permanently. Efforts to help parents, who have many more hours with the child than the schools, learn how to help their special child would probably make the job of the schools much easier. Such a pilot project should be sponsored by the Department of Education.

G. Legislation

Several changes in legislation are needed in order for the above recommendations to be implemented.

First, every child has the legal right to education, whatever the needs of the child. It should not be possible to exclude any child from school, and separation into any special program or category should be done only after extensive individual evaluation and consultation involving the teacher, the parents, and professional specialists. In no case should the special program be less expensive to the system or in any way less beneficial to the child than a regular educational setting.

Thus, the Legislature should state clearly the unequivocal responsibility of state government for the education of all children, regardless of their special needs, and should state that no child shall be deprived of appropriate education because of the lack of funds. Currently many children are not receiving the special care they need because there are insufficient funds to pay for services which are otherwise available. It is irresponsible for the Legislature to permit such a circumstance to continue.

Second, the reimbursement formula for meeting special education needs should be changed to 100 per cent above the normal per-pupil expenditure. This recommendation has already been made by the Blatt report, and by the Report of the Special Commission established to make an investigation and study relative to training facilities available for handicapped children, May 1970, Senator Joseph Ward, Chairman. This principle is also accepted and spelled out in Governor Sargent's recent bill on special education.

Third, reimbursement should be based on the special services required to meet the special needs of children in the school system. The formula should be keyed to needed services rather than to categorizing individual children by labeling them mentally retarded or learning disabled.

H. Summary

Evaluation of children can be helpful in providing each child with the kinds of education and care which is needed, or it can be used to categorize a child in such a way as to inhibit his ability to thrive. In the past, tests (especially intelligence and personality tests) have often been misused, and we recommend that their use be severely restricted, including that they not be used for general screening of children and that they be used in individual cases only when there is strong reason to believe that the educational program the child should have requires the administration of such tests. Any such evaluation should be oriented toward what the child can do and what is appropriate for the child to learn next, rather than concentrating on what the child cannot do or labeling the child according to a diagnostic, legal or administrative category.

Parents should be encouraged to work with the schools in planning and providing an effective program of care and education for their children with special needs, and no major decision about the child should be made without the active involvement of the child's parents.

II. EVALUATION OF PROGRAMS FOR CHILDREN

In this section we will consider three kinds of evaluation of programs for children: that which is involved in establishing program standards, that which is involved in assessing their overall effectiveness, and that which is involved in making improvements in programs. Each of these kinds of evaluation involves different purposes and procedures.

A. Establishing Program Standards[1]

There are three kinds of program standards which are functionally different: licensing standards, which establish a minimum floor of quality designed to protect the client from serious harm; funding standards, which establish the kinds and quality of services for which government is willing to pay; and goal standards, which establish agreed-upon measures of excellence. While these three sets of standards may in some cases overlap, they serve quite different functions and should not be confused with each other.

Licensing Standards

Licensing is a process whereby government provides the public with basic protection against possible abuses by private services which are offered to the public. It involves establishing minimum requirements for the service without which the service can be considered a danger. Thus it provides a uniform floor below which no service is permitted to go. Licensing regulations do not establish standards of quality service and should not be used as a means for upgrading the service.

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[1] We are indebted to Mrs. Gwen Morgan for many of the concepts and ideas presented in this section.

Licensing standards should consist of measures of those aspects of the service which are considered necessary for an acceptable service to be provided. It is difficult to determine what the minimum requirements should be; it becomes finally a matter of what the public view as unacceptable and what they will permit. Thus the process of establishing licensing requirements should involve extensive public discussion and debate, especially with those parents most directly involved in receiving the services provided. The licensing rules and regulations should in the final analysis be an accurate statement of what the general public, and parents in particular, consider to be the elements necessary for the minimum protection of children.

In the field of child care those items normally used as indicators of meeting minimum requirements are:

- staff/child ratio
- qualifications of staff
- space per child
- safety provisions (egress, ventilation)
- health provisions (heat, sanitary conditions)
- food (food preparation and serving)
- minimal program elements

Program elements include such things as the daily schedule, the availability of toys and equipment, etc. It is difficult to defend any particular program feature as essential to the well-being of the child, and it is hard to write specific requirements to cover program elements without unduly restricting program options. Nevertheless, requiring some kinds of program elements, carefully developed, may be desirable. The State of Wisconsin is doing some innovative work in writing requirements of this kind.

Licensing standards should be constructed so that they can be administered in an objective manner. In no case should there be room for flexibility in meeting the intent of the regulations, although some leeway should be provided in the ways in which the intent of the provisions are met. Licensing officials should consider consultation to applicants to be an integral part of their function, assisting the program to meet the required standards. There should also be the possibility of provisional licensing for a limited period of time to permit a program to operate temporarily. The use of provisional licensing, however, should be carefully controlled and should be used only when consultation and technical assistance is available to assist the program in meeting the minimum requirements without delay.

Currently, Massachusetts has licensing regulations for day care centers which are under revision. Regulations for infant and toddler day care nurseries and family day care are being developed. The establishment of licensing regulations for infants and for family day care is a matter of urgency since at the moment such services, though provided throughout the state, are unregulated. The Secretary of Human Services should treat the lack of any rules and regulations for infant care as a matter of urgency.

Group child care requirements.[1] The proposed regulations for day care centers (for children over two and three-quarters years of age) developed in April, 1970, by the Department of Public Health represented an intensive effort by the Department to improve the licensing requirements for child care. Because of a few features of the proposed regulations, a great deal of opposition to the proposals developed and, as a result, the regulations remain unchanged. The following are our comments on the core features of the proposed regulations.

Staff/child ratio: The proposal suggests a staff/child ratio of 1:7, which is consistent with the current Federal Interagency Guidelines. This is a difficult and expensive ratio to maintain given the resources available to most child care programs; without additional government subsidies it may be unreasonable. Yet we are convinced that the staff/child ratio is the most important factor in quality child care and are inclined to support the proposed ratio.

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[1] See Draft Proposed Rules and Regulations for Day Care Centers (for children over 2-3/4 years of age), Mass. Dept. of Public Health, Division of Family Health Services, April 1970.

In addition, we feel strongly that this ratio should be applied to state-run programs for young children, including the public school grades from kindergarten through third. This recommendation is discussed in more detail in Chapter Five. It is not justified to require of the private sector standards of care which are not met by public programs. In this case the discrepancy is even more ironic: "custodial" child care programs for five-year-olds must have a 1:7 staff/child ratio to be eligible for federal funds; the same child in kindergarten, an "educational" setting, has a ratio of 1:25. Such a discrepancy is not supportable.

It should be noted that, in the case of child care and early education, the staff/child ratio which is considered essential does not require certified teachers in each case. Much greater use of aides, high school students, retired persons, volunteers of all sorts should be encouraged. Thus, the increased cost in meeting the required ratios need not be prohibitive. In the process the programs are opened up to a greater diversity of persons, thus enriching the program.

The director's qualifications: A second, controversial feature of the proposed regulations was to require that a nonteaching director of any new program have a master's degree in early childhood education, child development, or a related field. This was a bold statement on the part of the Department concerning the importance of the director in determining the quality of the program. While strongly agreeing with what we perceive to have been the intent of the requirement, we cannot agree that the master's degree should be considered a necessary element for a director. Rather, we have argued that center directors should be certified on the basis of a combination of training and performance, with a careful evaluation of performance on the job being a major factor in the certification.[1]

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[1] See Chapter Six, Staff Development.

Although such a procedure will be difficult to develop and to administer, high priority should be given to such development.

Infant Care and Toddlers.[1] The absence of any rules and regulations for care of infants and toddlers is a serious and urgent matter. The regulations proposed by the Department of Public Health in April, 1970, reflect a good approximation of the standard of infant and toddler care needed, and we find them basically acceptable. Since we would expect them to need some revision after some actual experience with them, we recommend that the proposed regulations be implemented immediately, on a provisional basis, for a period of three years at the end of which they would be automatically voided. On this basis we urge their immediate adoption.

Family Day Care. Currently any group of three or more children not of common parentage in a paid child care arrangement fall under the Department of Public Health rules and regulations of group child care. The Department of Public Welfare also has legal responsibility to license family day care but, because of the Public Health statutes, licenses only those family day care homes with two or one child. There is a clear need for a set of rules and regulations for family day care of up to six children cared for in a private home administered by a single agency. The present arrangement is understaffed and unworkable. Many mothers are providing family day care illegally and in no way are being regulated.

Given the likely substantial increase in family day care arrangements in the near future, it is important to establish some protective requirements which are reasonable and which can be administered by the state, taking into account the limited resources for licensing which are likely to be available. It is probably not feasible to provide full-scale and repeated visits to every family day care home, taking care of three or four children, throughout the state. Even if funds were available, those funds should probably be used for technical assistance rather than for extensive licensing of family day care homes. Thus, some different kind of licensing system is needed. There are several options which should be considered.

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[1] See Draft Proposed Rules and Regulations for Infant and Toddler Day Care Nurseries (for children under 2-3/4 years of age), Mass. Dept. of Public Health, Division of Family Health Services, April 1970.

Registration, one variation of licensing, is one possibility. In this arrangement the family day care operators would be required to complete a form describing their service, certifying that they meet the necessary state requirements. There would be no on-site inspection, and the state would simply keep a record of and supply a certificate to those who apply and certify they meet the requirements. On-site visits and investigation would be conducted randomly for a small sample of the homes each year, and the state would investigate any complaints brought to it by parents or other users. This procedure would be minimally expensive and would maintain minimal controls over abuse. It would be better than the total lack of a system, which we now have.

Licensing of family day care systems is another way to regulate the standards of family day care homes. It is more expensive, more complicated and more desirable. As we have suggested in Chapter Three, family day care homes often provide much better services when they are offered within the context of a larger supportive system. The family day care system may be centered around a day care center or simply around a central administrative core which provides information, supervision, and other support services. In any case, it would be possible to delegate the regulation of some family day care homes to family day care systems. This would have the desirable effect of relating the day care home to a local supportive service as well, and would be more likely to provide the necessary minimum protection of children which is needed. Supplementary financial support would have to be provided the family day care system for the registration services.

We will restrict our comments about licensing requirements for family day care to the issue of safety requirements for the day care home. At the moment the requirements for regular center care apply to family day care homes with three or more children. This seems excessively stringent for a home with six or fewer children, and we support the suggestion that normal building occupancy requirements be considered satisfactory for family day care homes. While we do not support safety requirements which would significantly reduce the safety of children in family day care homes, we feel that normal occupancy requirements, possibly with some minimal safety requirements such as a portable fire extinguisher, should be satisfactory for a family day care home.

The Use of Licensing Standards to Upgrade Quality. In working with programs for children it is difficult to be satisfied with programs which simply meet the minimum protective requirements of licensing. Children deserve good care and not just care that is unlikely to do them great harm.

Thus, there is often an inclination to use licensing standards as a means for upgrading the quality of care since it is so powerful a mechanism. All programs must comply with the regulations if they are to operate legally, and a gradually rising set of requirements would theoretically have the effect of increasing the quality of care. This increase would put pressure on the programs with marginal standards while having little effect upon those programs which exceed the required standards. It might drive some programs out of business while others might choose to operate illegally. Licensing standards should not be used in this way.

The state should not require that a private service provide child care which the state considers excellent. The regulatory powers of the state should not extend that far.

Furthermore, there is little public agreement about what constitutes excellent child care. Parents from different geographical areas or cultural groups may differ considerably. If the state were to set standards which it considered to be "high quality," this would go against the opinions of many and would greatly reduce the diversity and parental options which we feel should be a central feature of child care and early education.

Summary. Licensing of child care services is an evaluation procedure designed to provide the minimum protection of children. We have discussed and made recommendations concerning the existing and proposed requirements for group care, infant care, and family day care. Detailed recommendations for reorganization of state government in order to implement these suggestions are presented in Chapter Nine.

Funding and Goal Standards

What are some of the appropriate uses of standards to encourage quality child care? The federal government has established Interagency Day Care Requirements, which it uses for funding purposes, indicating the kinds of day care programs which it is willing to support with federal funds. This is encouragement for improved quality of services which is quite different from the use of licensing requirements. Since the federal government is likely to be the source of a great deal of support for the operational costs of child care, federal funding requirements are a powerful stimulus to upgrade programs. To the extent that federal funding becomes necessary in order for most programs to survive, such rules and regulations have the same effect as licensing standards. Therefore care should be taken not to establish such a high level of funding standards that they effectively rule out a large segment of child care programs which provide adequate care.

The state could establish a set of recommended, though not required, standards which it could use to recognize officially those programs which meet them. A public listing of all programs meeting the recommended standards would provide an additional impetus to improving the quality of the program. Consultation and technical assistance, independent of the licensing process, could be made available on a priority basis to those licensed programs seeking to meet the recommended standards.

In addition, it is important to develop funding standards which allow for experimentation, innovative programs, and maximum diversity. Too often the use of standards has narrowed and constricted the development of programs. There should be a procedure by which a program could apply for and be recognized and supported as an experimental program. Such support of experimental programs would enable them to try out major departures from the usual notions of quality, provided they are well thought out and that adequate provision for continuous evaluation of the process is made. As we have said repeatedly throughout this report, it is essential that state government take the initiative to ensure and protect the development of a wide diversity of child care options for parents. It would be tragic for any one kind of child care to become the "approved" type.

We strongly recommend that substantial consultation and technical assistance efforts, organized and controlled at the local level, be supported by the state as a major means of improving the quantity and quality of child care services. The organizational structure recommended for this purpose is presented in more detail in Chapter Nine, The Role of State Government.

Standards of excellence, or goal standards, should not be set by government. Private voluntary professional and community associations through the use of accreditation and membership regulations may wish to establish for themselves objectives and standards reflecting their sense of excellence.

Care should be taken, however, in establishing an "approved" notion of excellence, even if it is not directly enforced. We feel it is more appropriate to develop ways to assist individuals and local groups in establishing their own unique set of goals, and achieving them.

B. Evaluating Program Effectiveness

During the past decade there has been increasing interest and effort in large-scale evaluation studies to determine the relative effectiveness of different kinds of social programs for young children. The results of these efforts have already been reviewed in Chapters Four and Five. They may be summarized by saying that virtually no formal evaluation of individual programs or types of programs for young children has been shown to be consistently effective over time. A major review of child development projects for the disadvantaged designed to identify those children's services which are most likely to have high benefit in relation to their cost has also concluded that there is no convincing evidence of the greater effectiveness of one type of child care program over another.[1] Similarly the Westinghouse study of Head Start found no lasting effect upon subsequent school achievement from involvement in that program.[2]

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[1] Sheldon White. Child Development Projects for the Disadvantaged Draft report for HEW-OS-71-170. "Disadvantaged Child Development Cost Analysis," Cambridge, Mass.: Huron Institute, 1971.

[2] Westinghouse Learning Corporation. The Impact of Head Start, New York(?), 1969.

While the initial assessments of Sesame Street indicated significant increases in reading and math skills, especially for middle-class children, it is too early to know what long-term effects it may have.[1] The potential uses and effects of television should be given major research attention over the next few years, since there are many reasons to believe that videotape will be increasingly used and may result in major changes in educational curricula.

Coleman's nationwide study of the effects of school characteristics on student achievement found that student performance is not significantly affected by class size, teacher training or experience, or per-pupil expenditure.[2] In Massachusetts, a recent study by the Department of Education, involving testing of 90,000 public school students, found little effect on educational achievement due to per-pupil expenditure or class size.[3] A recent review of all the major evaluations of educational effectiveness in the United States over the past decade concluded that no stable generalizations can be made on the basis of such research about the kinds of program elements which contribute to educational effectiveness.[4] Some program elements seem to have a significant short-term effect which gets lost over the period of a year or two. Other effects seem to be sustained over time in some studies but not in others.

Thus at this time researchers are unable to draw any firm generalizations about what leads to effective educational and child care programs. There are several reasons for the failure of research efforts to find significant effects due to child care and education programs.

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[1] Samuel Ball and Gerry Ann Bogatz, "A Summary of the Major Findings in 'The First Year of Sesame Street: an Evaluation'". Princeton: Educational Testing Service, 1970.

[2] James S. Coleman et al., The Equality of Educational Opportunity. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966.

[3] James Baker. Paper presented at annual meeting of school administrators, Amherst, April 8, 1971, as reported in the Boston Globe, April 9, 1971 (p.8).

[4] Harvey Averich, Stephen Carrol, and Theodore Donaldson, Preliminary report, What Do We Know About Educational Effectiveness? Santa Monica: Rand Corporation, 1971.

The Overwhelming Effects of Social and Economic Variables

We have learned from recent research the overwhelming weight which socio-economic factors have in determining educational and social achievement. We can no longer expect enlightened child care and educational programs to carry the burden of providing equal opportunity for Americans. If greater opportunity is to be achieved for the disadvantaged, it must come through programs which support families by affecting their incomes and which give individuals meaningful options concerning jobs, housing and living arrangements. We cannot expect a few hours of "compensatory" programs each week to overcome the comprehensive psychological and social effects of poverty and discrimination upon people. While consideration of such issues goes beyond the scope of this study, we should be aware that simply providing some improvements in child care and early education will not, in and of itself, have much of an effect upon the inequalities of opportunity which exist in our society. Other, far more fundamental economic and social changes are required before significant changes in social opportunities can occur.

The Inadequacy of Proxy Variables

In order to collect data on many children, most studies deliberately use simple measures such as "mother's education" as a measure of socio-economic level, and a "verbal analogies test" as a measure of intelligence. Although these measures are recognized as extremely rough approximations of complex concepts, they quickly lose their proxy nature and come to be interpreted as real and adequate measures of "intelligence" and "social class." In addition, different studies use different proxies for the "same" concepts. It is no wonder that the results are not comparable, are confusing, and often contradictory.

Discrepancies between Program Descriptions and What Actually Happens

Often studies comparing one kind of educational program with another fail to examine the actual differences in behavior and classroom conditions which exist in the two programs, rather than the presumed differences. For example, programs which are described as "custodial" and "compensatory" may be quite similar in the way the staff relate to children in the program despite large differences in the official program statements. Often the variations implied by the labels given a program simply do not exist in any systematic way in the program.

Lack of Adequate Measures for Those Variables Considered Most Important, and Profusion of Measures for Those Variables in which There Is Less Interest

Many child development programs emphasize concepts such as self-image, sense of worth, personal competence, social skills, etc. While these are seen as important goals, researchers have rarely been able to develop objective measures which can be reliably used to measure these states, within the ordinary limits of time and money. Thus frequently these variables get left out of studies or are inadequately measured, while tests of cognitive skills and school achievement, objective and inexpensive to estimate, are heavily weighted. Thus, in Head Start, even though program statements clearly establish the importance of social and emotional growth and of parental involvement, the major assessments have concentrated on the effects of Head Start on future school achievement. Measures of affect and social development have stymied psychological researchers for some time. Yet there is an increasing need for such measures for use in program evaluation studies, and priority should be given at the federal level to their development.

Little Agreement about Objectives

Even if all of the above problems were somehow magically solved, there remain major differences among groups concerning the objectives of programs for children and, therefore, concerning the criteria by which they should be evaluated. This is not a technical problem, but rather an issue of values. There will always be differences over what the goals of programs for young children should be. For some a good child care program should break the cycle of poverty and develop children into achieving, socialized middle-class Americans. For others it should free parents to become productive wage earners. For others it is a way to help the child become "self-actualized," moving in the child's own directions. For others it is preventive mental health, reducing the number of social problems to be dealt with later. For some it is to help a child build a day of happiness.

Each of these perspectives, some of which are overlapping, call for different kinds of evaluation measures. They have few common denominators. Under such circumstances it is impossible objectively to compare the effectiveness of different programs. One can compare the effectiveness of two programs in achieving the same objective, but we do not know how to compare the relative effectiveness of one program with one objective against another program with another objective. Thus, unless we establish common objectives on a statewide or national basis we will not be able to compare on a state or national level the effectiveness of different kinds of program.

There is an alternative: to promote the establishment of many differing objectives on local levels and to provide assistance to local groups in meeting their self-established goals, limiting such developments only to the extent necessary to provide minimum protection for children.

What can we conclude? First, we need to increase our efforts to develop methods for program evaluation, developing better measures of the variety of goals which people have for programs. Second, we need better methods of measuring the multiple effects of programs.

Third, we need to pull away from expecting large global programs to have large global effects and to design evaluation studies more focused on particular problems and program needs.

Fourth, we need to develop improved methods of program evaluation that can be used by individuals and programs which will enable them to make repeated incremental improvements in their programs in light of their own unique set of goals and circumstances. Some preliminary ways to develop this kind of evaluation are discussed in the next section.

In summary, our efforts to evaluate the effectiveness of child care and educational programs have so far not been especially helpful in making decisions about the relative effectiveness of programs or in indicating ways to improve programs. Such evaluation studies have impressed us with the magnitude of social and economic effects upon the educational and career achievements of individuals and have led us to moderate our expectations about the likely effects of improved child care and early education. However, we should not come too quickly to the conclusion that child care and early education have negligible effects, since our evaluation tools and methods are crude and need substantial development. High priority should be given to developing evaluation methods which can be used at the local level in measuring progress toward local goals.

C. Evaluation for Program Improvement

Evaluation research, focused on trying to determine the effectiveness of different kinds of programs and program elements, has so far yielded few results despite considerable investment. A different model of evaluation, one that concentrates on providing repeated feedback to programs as they are progressing, should receive greater attention as an aid to program development. The term "formative" evaluation was developed to describe this kind of evaluative process.[1] It is a recent development, and few examples are yet available.[2] However, in our view it shows sufficient promise to be mentioned as an area deserving extensive development.

Formative evaluation involves repeatedly monitoring and comparing the difference between program objectives and outcomes of a program. This information is then "fed back" in such a way as to continuously affect and redirect the program. The research design for such an evaluation is quite different from the ordinary design; there are no traditional "control" groups and the process itself is designed to have a maximum direct effect upon the program rather than being an independent measure with minimal influence on the program. It is analogous in some respects to the model earlier presented for diagnostic evaluation of individual children.

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[1] M. Scriven,"The Methodology of Evaluation," AERA Monograph Series on Curriculum Evaluation, No. 1, Chicago: Rand McNally, 1967, pp. 38-89.

[2] L. J. Cronbach, "Evaluation for Course Improvement," Teachers College Record, 1963, 64, 672-683.

Formative evaluation should be designed around the particular objectives and circumstances of a given setting. It does not attempt to generalize about program effects. It involves the use of inside evaluators repeatedly monitoring, comparing and reporting back the relationship between changing program goals and the changing actual conditions and accomplishments of the program.

The basic idea of formative evaluation is simple. But the process is not easy. Development of clear statements of program goals is difficult, sometimes impossible. It is difficult to develop adequate measures of program conditions and accomplishments that are sensitive to changes week by week. And it is difficult to persuade most program personnel to invest time and energy in assessing their own behavior, especially if, as a result, they may have to change what they do.

Most programs do not evaluate themselves in any systematic way and continue on with few improvements. In order for improvements in this area to be made there must be:

1) Development of improved techniques for repeated monitoring of program changes. Since most programs will have to develop their own measures, staff will have to be trained for this work.

2) Development of a cadre of formative evaluation consultants who can assist individual program personnel in establishing their own internal evaluation procedures.

3) Provision of financial assistance to programs prepared to develop formative evaluative systems as an integral long-term part of their program.

4) Outside evaluation of programs according to the adequacy with which they meet their own goals and the adequacy with which they monitor the gap between their goals and their achievements.

Currently many government funding sources require evaluation of programs and provide a fixed amount of money for that purpose. Most often this has been implemented by bringing in from outside an "objective" evaluation team to sum up the successes and failures of a program. We propose greater use of internal formative evaluation for this purpose.

External evaluation "auditors" are needed for formative evaluation systems to certify the adequacy of the internal evaluation system, in the same way that a certified public accountant certifies the adequacy of a business firm's financial record-keeping. The external auditor should not be involved in evaluating the program itself but rather in "auditing" the evaluation system.

Since program goals differ widely, and since traditional measurement and evaluation systems are inadequate for program improvement, we recommend that high priority should be given to the development of formative evaluation methods which can be used by individual programs.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE COSTS OF CHILD CARE: MONEY AND OTHER RESOURCES REQUIRED

In earlier chapters of this report, we have spoken of the need for child care, as variously defined, and the kinds of child care that can be provided for young children in and out of the home. The need was found to be for both care that was full-time and part-time, and very extensive for some while just supportive for others. An extraordinary variety of child care situations has been described. We have concluded that fostering diversity is, in and of itself, desirable for a government program for three reasons: There are no reliable, objective, comprehensive "tests" of child care quality; parents indicate a wide variety of needs and desires for child care support; and the parent and family role in child care should be supported, rather than undermined.

This chapter discusses the money and other resources needed to provide a wide variety of child care. Provision of care in formal programs requires extensive start-up activities, resources for operations (to cover recurrent costs), and bureaucratic support. Start-up activities are rarely described systematically and costed; recurrent costs are frequently described but for one or another specific reason. However, the Regional Child Care Meetings held in June and July of 1971 demonstrated wide concern with start-up problems and costs, and wide interest in budget variations. This chapter therefore presents both a detailed analysis of start-up costs and many different budget variations in single centers, systems of centers, systems of homes, and mixed home-care, center-care systems. The latter costs are presented as "core" costs plus variations. Bureaucratic costs are not presented in this chapter; those applicable to the state structure advocated in this report appear in Chapter Nine.

Before analyzing specific budgets, however, we set forth a framework for understanding child care budgets. Child care costs appear to vary, even for similar programs, quite aside from variations for different programs.

I. WHY DO WELL-KNOWN COST FIGURES FOR CHILD CARE DIFFER SO WIDELY?

- Children's Bureau figures put the average cost of "desirable" care at $2,300-2,400 per child-year;[1] so does the Abt Study in Child Care, 1970-1971.[2]
- Westat Survey figures show "custodial" care being delivered for $354 per child-year,[3] and "developmental" care for $1,368 per child-year.
- Most commercial child care in Massachusetts costs $1,000-$2,000 per child-year; nonprofit child care costs more like $2,000 per child-year.
- Kindergarten in Massachusetts is said to cost $350-$400 a year, for part-time care; on a full-time basis, this would be $1800-$2100 per year.

What do these figures mean and how are the differences to be explained? There are three major reasons why costs vary so much; they have to do with data questions, pricing questions and "quality" and efficiency questions. Data questions and pricing problems are relatively straightforward. We must define terms, standardize "units" of service, and deflate for regional variations and inflation changes to arrive at the point where we are all talking about the same resources used for child care. "Quality" and efficiency questions are more difficult, for the quality of child care lies to some extent in the eye of the beholder. One man's slum is another man's palace, or prison, or haven; so also with child care. Unless we agree about "quality", it is impossible to discuss "efficiency", for efficiency means delivering a given level of quality at the least cost. One observer will say "more resources are used at Center X than Center Y; the service must be better there at X." Another will say, "Centers X and Y have the same service but more resources are used at X so Y is more efficient." These issues are discussed in this chapter in the context of major cost studies and the "Developmental" vs. "Custodial" debate on child care. The chapter then concludes with discussion of how child care costs are presently met and how they may be met in the future.

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[1] Children's Bureau of the U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare and the Day Care and Child Development Council of America, "Standards and Costs for Day Care," 1968 (hereinafter called the CB-DCCDC Budget).

[2] Abt Associates, Inc., A Study in Child Care, 1970-1971, OEO Contract No. OEO-BOO-5213, 55 Wheeler Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138, April, 1971.

[3] Westinghouse Learning Corporation (Westat Research), Day Care Survey 1970, OEO Contract No. 800-5160, April 16, 1971.

A. Data Questions

There are many differences in how costs and services are reckoned. In order to be able to compare programs and estimate the need for resources, line-item budgets and program information must be put into standard form. One easy form would be set up as follows:

- A standard, 10-hour program, day or night.[1]
- A standard, 250-day year (52 weeks, ten holidays).[1]
- "Full-time equivalents" (FTE) for children and staff reckoned in terms of hours of service delivered. Thus the staff-child ratio is staff-hours (paid and unpaid) divided by child-hours. The cost per child-hour is the cost for hours children actually use, not hours the program is open. Although the standard program is open ten hours, the average child is at the center 8.5 hours.[2] Thus, three children who are present,

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[1] "Standards and Costs of Day Care" and the Abt budget conform to these standards.

[2] This is the average found in the Abt Study; it is substantiated by averages reported in the Westat Survey, Tables 3.11 and 4.14. The Abt Study gives costs per child-hour on this basis of child-hours used, not those "available".

respectively, three hours, three hours, and two-and-a-half hours, represent one full-time equivalent child. Costs per child-hour delivered, and costs per day, for a full-time-equivalent child, will thus be about 15 per cent higher than if centers were now actually filled throughout the day. Costs on this basis give an intuitively "truer" picture of child-care costs.

Costs per child-year, both on an average daily attendance basis and on an enrollment basis. The *Abt Study in Child Care, 1970-71* gives costs on the basis of average daily attendance (ADA), which conforms better with the standard we have given for costs per child-hour or child-year *delivered*. However, nearly all other studies, including the CB-DCCDC "Standards and Costs", give costs per year on an enrollment basis. In the Abt *Study*, ADA was found on the average about *12 per cent less than enrollment, but there was* a fairly wide range of differences between the ADA and enrollment for a given center. There is, for instance, some evidence indicating that absenteeism is higher--almost double--where parents must travel 15-30 minutes than if they can walk to their child care program. Costs for services actually *delivered* will thus be higher at a center far from children's homes. Instead of receiving 250 days of service less 12 per cent, the average such parent receives 250 days less 25 per cent; the cash costs per day or per year of service are thus higher at such a program. If the parent is paying the costs, we can say that the parent has "paid his money and taken his choice of service or not-service" (although many parents have real difficulty in winter, traveling with little children, and the "choice" is in many ways forced). But if the government is paying the costs, the difference between ADA and enrollment is a public issue, and the government may attempt to bring down the costs of service (delivered) by over-enrolling (if absenteeism is fairly reliable) or by providing the option of child care near parents' homes.

Fully costed budgets. This means that costs are given or imputed for *all* resources used by all programs. *This requirement is critical to program comparison for two reasons. The proportion* of budgets in-kind (donated and volunteered) varies greatly, ranging in the Abt Study from 5 to 70 per cent (the average was 23 per cent). The future supply of donations and volunteers cannot be accurately predicted (empty church basements are disappearing and women now more and more working for pay, but teenagers, grandparents and men are becoming more and more involved). Thus for purposes of comparison the time of proprietors should be "salaried" at going rates; inordinate overtime or vacations given up by staff should be costed. The parent-Saturdays contributed for making equipment and the nightly phone calls for fund-raising and parent consultation must be included as costable "staff" time if program inputs are to be compared. (Care must be taken to impute costs of such inputs at their actual value to the center.)

Separate budgets for recurrent costs and start-up costs. Recurrent costs are those borne yearly, including amortization of buildings and major equipment. (Amortization may be implicit in rental figures.) Start-up costs are the once-only costs of beginning a program or conducting major expansions. Failure to consider start-up costs in the "costs of child care" grossly underestimates resources required for services. (See Section II.) Inclusion of start-up costs in recurrent cost budgets produces budgets which are not easily compared with one another.

It will be seen at once that these points account for many of the differences in reported costs of child care. For instance, in many commercial centers the proprietor's profit, if any, is his "salary"; sometimes his returns are derived chiefly from owning the building, through renting to himself and tax write-offs. It is common for members of the proprietor's family to work unpaid, for directors' families to live at a center and/or eat program food. In the Westat Survey, the interviews did not pick up this type of information about in-kind resources. Calculation of full-time-equivalent children in that Survey was based on a seven-hour "full day" and two part-time children were considered equal to one full-time child, even though the typical part-time child is present for only two and one-half to three hours. (This calculation probably overestimates the number of children and underestimates costs, although no definitive study has been made on this point.) Moreover, number of days per year are not specified in that Survey. This can be important; the range in days per year in the Abt Study was 225 days to 253 days.

Taken in the aggregate, the data differences alone easily account for the reported differences in costs between the "developmental" centers of the Westat Survey (average cost $1,368 on an enrollment basis) and the centers and systems of the Abt Study (average cost about $2,300 on an ADA basis). The problem of data differences should also be kept in mind in comparing day care costs with public school costs (for a five-to-seven hour day, 180 days per year), and kindergarten costs (two and one-half hour days). Simply putting Massachusetts kindergarten costs on a full-day, 250-day basis brings the costs to $1800-$2100 per year (on an enrollment basis). And public school and kindergarten costs also usually do not include costs of central administration, occupancy, land values, land taxes foregone, free lunches and medical care, volunteers, etc.

B. Pricing Questions: Regional Differences and Inflation

Figures given in the Abt Study and CB-DCCDC budget are in terms of national, average costs. (In the Abt Study, prices are adjusted for regional variations.) Prices vary around the country by as much as 100 per cent, and must therefore be price-adjusted for each individual state. Using National Education Association teacher-salary indices for this purpose (day care teachers receive, on the average, about 65 per cent of public elementary school salaries but vary in about the same way among states), the Massachusetts index is 103.1. Urban prices within one state usually exceed rural prices, in Massachusetts by as much as 10 per cent or even more. Thus the Abt and CB-DCCDC averages should be multiplied by 103 per cent for a Massachusetts average, and by as much as 110 per cent or more for the Boston metropolitan area.

The CB-DCCDC budgets date from late 1960 data; the Westat and Abt studies refer to 1969 and to 1970 data, respectively. Inflation effects have been uneven because of unemployment and differential real estate changes, but clearly prices have been rising. Salaries may be expected to continue to rise due to unionization of child care workers, equal pay for women, the increased hiring of men, cost of living adjustments, and, possibly, some difficulty in securing scarce resources (space, directors) as day care becomes more common, and more and more arrangements are cash paid. Thus Massachusetts programs beginning in 1972 may cost 10 per cent to 20 per cent more than the budgets presented in the Appendix, simply for pricing reasons.

C. Questions of Quality and Efficiency

After we have adjusted to common units, put the data on a common basis, and allowed for pricing problems, why are there still differences in costs among programs? If day care were shoelaces, we would expect the differences in costs to arise from differences in efficiency of production and/or from differences in quality of shoelaces.

Efficiency (producing the same service at lower cost)

The three most commonly asked "efficiency" questions in day care relate to economies of scale, the advantages of systems, and family day care.

Economies of scale. The Abt Study investigated with care the question of economies of scale. Large centers surveyed in that Study did tend to cost a little less per child than smaller centers, perhaps by as much as 10 per cent between centers with seventy-five and twenty-five children. The differences were due mainly to the spreading of administrative costs. However, larger centers were also rated generally "less warm" than smaller centers.[1] In fact, larger centers were found generally less "warm" even with the same staff-child ratio (although this latter difference was not statistically significant, when staff-child ratios were held constant). It is not clear, therefore, that even the modest economies reported were true economies of scale; only if "quality" of service were the same in larger centers would a decline in costs clearly represent a gain in efficiency.

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[1] See the discussion below on "quality."

Possible advantages of systems of centers were also investigated. Seven of the programs in the Abt Study were systems, caring for 106 to 3,570 (ADA) children. Costs per child in systems were lower than costs in centers, but the differences were not statistically significant, possibly due to the small sample size. (There were also no significant differences in "warmth" between single centers and systems.) Systems do appear to provide some opportunities to save money in fund-raising, staff recruitment, staff training and securing space and equipment, and the budgets below reflect these assumptions.

Family day care in systems is not always considered to provide the same service as centers,[1] but the question often arises whether organized family day care may not be less expensive. For pre-school children the costs turn out about the same. For infants, isolated children, children from large families who are to be kept together, mildly sick children and those with certain special needs, organized family day care is often probably more appropriate, and appears to be somewhat less expensive, than providing for the same children in centers.

Mixed, home-care-center-care systems may offer many advantages. Different kinds and ages of children in one area could then be in the type of care of their parents' choice--infants predominantly in homes, some children in centers *and* homes (like the middle-class nursery school-home combination). Centers attract some kinds of resources and volunteers more easily (teenagers, graduate students); family day care recruits others (an elder brother or father doing carpentry with the children; neighbors bringing a birthday cake). Staff training, work with parents, medical and emergency services cost less in family day care if offered through an associated center. Conversely, care for sick children, nap facilities and "quiet space" for full-day children can less expensively be offered by homes attached to a center. *Thus mixed, home-care-center-care systems may offer substantial economies, especially where a high proportion of infants is involved*.

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[1] The terms "home care" and "family day care" here refer to organized, supported care in homes. Family day care, or home care, in isolated homes without system support, generally does not provide anything like the same environment as organized center or home care, as the forthcoming day care report by the National Council of Jewish Women recounts with agonizing detail.

Quality Issues

There are no adequate measures of the effects of different kinds of child care, once abusive, unsafe care has been ruled out. To begin with, reputable research authorities do not agree on definitions of "good effects" or goals, especially with regard to children from different cultural backgrounds.[1] The measures we have largely refer to cognitive effects; the *methodology* of evaluation with such measures--including validity and reliability questions--is controversial.[2] Even where researchers have agreed on goals and methods, the results are uncertain; a well-known recent report found that one year in a good kindergarten "washed out" the measurable cognitive effects of different (and no) preschool programs.[3]

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[1] See, for instance, Michael Cole and Jerome S. Bruner, "Preliminaries to a Theory of Cultural Differences" (mimeographed), Rockefeller and Harvard Universities, n.d.

[2] A good example is Donald Campbell and Albert Erlbacher, "How Regression Artifacts in Quasi-Experimental Evaluation Can Mistakenly Make Compensatory Education Look Harmful," in *Disadvantaged Child*, Volume III, Jerome Helimuth, ed. (New York: Brunner-Mazel, 1970), pp. 185-210. It should also be noted that cognitive effects are reported by Massachusetts parents as of low priority compared with helping children get along socially.

[3] Carl Bereiter, "An Academic Proposal for Disadvantaged Children: Conclusions from Evaluation Studies," paper presented at the Johns Hopkins University, February, 1971.

Finally, if the study of "cognition" is in its early childhood, then the study of "social and emotional" effects of child care is in its infancy. Measurement in these areas has far to go. This latter point is particularly important to legislators, since the goals of such programs as Headstart were originally couched in terms of social and emotional development: improvements in self-image which would "lead to a break in the poverty cycle,"[1] but which cannot (yet) be measured with validity.

Thus even while Americans deeply hope for good effects from child care, there is no easy way to agree upon or measure "good" or "bad" effects. The conservative view is "Let us at least do no worse than the average home"; greater optimists hope that child care will offer widened opportunities for many children and parents.

How, under such circumstances, can we make any judgments about costs and quality? We can look at inputs (which means chiefly staff).[2] Does more money spent mean better inputs? We can look at what good programs actually seem to do with regard to providing quality, defining a "good program" as one people generally speak of as "good", and then describing it. We can look at the programs that experts have called "desirable" or "developmental" and try to describe the attributes and costs of such programs. We can consider traditional home care and try to specify ways that formal child care should be at least "no worse" than homes. In the final analysis, decisions about costs and quality must be left with each reader.

"Quality" and staffing characteristics of programs. Several recent studies have begun to investigate quality of staff.[3] Formal educational qualifications of staff have not been found related to excellence, or "warmth" of staff as defined in those studies.[1] The quality of the director is generally considered critical to "staff quality" but no objective criteria have been given for choosing directors, except that they be willing to work very long hours.

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[1] Many other goals for Headstart have also been set forward--and achieved--by those working in the program.

[2] On the average about 75 per cent to 80 per cent of child care costs are staff.

[3] See, for instance, the Child Welfare League, Child Care Workers, done for the Office of Education, U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, New York City, 1971, and Abt Associates, Inc.

Staff-child ratio was, in the Abt Study, found to be highly significantly correlated with "warmth"; the administrator-child ratio was as important as the teacher-child ratio. Since staff costs account for 75-80 per cent of child care budgets, it may be true that more money spent does indeed mean "better" inputs, in the sense that more staff-time per child probably means a "warmer" center, but we do not know exactly why this should be so. Staff time per child *per se* may be the important factor in providing "warmth". Or it may be that where there is adequate staff, working conditions for the staff are more comfortable and staff are more likely to pursue the activities with children that they themselves enjoy, to the good of both children and adults. Also, there are often quiet (perhaps a little shy) children in child care centers who receive very little attention; improving staff-child ratios may mean individual children have a better chance to find an adult who loves them and who will gently seek them out.

Centers and systems were selected for the Abt *Study* on the basis of being considered by day care specialists and local agencies as "among the better centers of their kind."[2] The average child-related staff-child ratio in these programs was 1:3.6 (staff hours divided by child hours). In the "developmental" centers in the Westat *Survey*, the median was 1:6; in the "desirable" CB-DCCDC program it is between 1:3 and 1:4.

"Developmental" vs. "Custodial" care; "Desirable" vs. "Minimum Quality" care. In recent months there has been much fierce controversy about the levels of "quality"

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[1] In the Abt *Study*, teachers were rated by teams of observers, for warmth of response to children under stated circumstances.

[2] Abt Associates, Volume I, p. 5.

of child care, its measurements, and its importance. The debates have been couched in terms of "minimum" vs. "desirable" quality, "custodial" vs. "developmental", "care" vs. "education". Current controversy over "custodial" vs. "developmental" child care is fashionable, but, in the final analysis, both false and misleading.

Before moving to operational definitions of the terms in the dispute, it may be useful to explore the images associated with the terms. "Custodial" conjures up images of dark and dreary institutional gray halls, row after row of pale and withdrawn toddlers, each looking like the other, each alone and uncared for. A horrible picture is drawn of lifeless, dull, sallow children. "Developmental", on the other hand, connotes gaily decorated, sparkling, new, educationally designed environments where teams of child development experts, utilizing the latest scientific knowledge and skill, observe, diagnose and intervene to meet the emerging needs of the young children.

The distinction drawn in the conventional wisdom is between care and education, but, in fact, the best of theory and research generates little evidence to support the usefulness or the reality of such a distinction. Current notions of developmental care assume that experts know how and why children grow and thrive. At the least, proponents of the "developmental programs" imply that there is a formula or package of educational components, nutritional, and medical services that will ensure and/or foster maximum development of each child. This implication is unwarranted.

On the other hand, child care workers, parents, and legislators can and do make individual judgments about child care quality, on the basis of viewing actual operations. Thus operational definitions of custodial and developmental care may be of some use to the reader.

Operational definitions. Day care planners generally have in mind one or more of the following ideas when they speak of "developmental" and "desirable" care:

- Developmental and/or desirable care[1] costs more than custodial care.

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[1] In general, these terms are used interchangeably in this discussion.

- Developmental care provides an "educational" (often "compensatory") program.
- Developmental care is comprehensive care; the program scope is wider than for custodial care.
- Developmental care meets a child's needs as well as a middle-class home, and can be regarded as a substitute and supplement to a middle-class home.

The first of these definitions, that developmental care costs more, is not very informative, or useful for planning purposes. It is commonly asserted that good day care is expensive; there is therefore a temptation to believe that expensive day care is necessarily good. Clearly money does not guarantee fine human services. In the discussion which follows, "desirable care", as variously defined, is found indeed to use more resources than undesirable care. However the desirability of care is not dependent on expense, per se, but on the amount and kind of resources recruited for child care.

The second definition is very common, that "developmental" care provides an educational or compensatory program or activities. Bereiter, Weikart, and other "packageable" compensatory educational programs[1] generally would make only marginal difference to costs in and of themselves. Day care staff must be trained and paid, and there must be enough staff to administer the program, but most "custodial" programs could easily add several "educational program" hours for the costs of training and paying staff and acquiring materials. Materials and equipment are a negligible item (under 3 per cent) in most child care budgets--and staff training will often be subsidized or contributed by local agencies and educational institutions. Thus, a program could be turned from being considered "custodial" to "developmental" care under this definition, essentially by adding to salaries--perhaps by adding $5,000-$6,000 per year for the extra salary of a trained staff member--without necessarily changing substantially the care and education of the children. One such person, conducting one- and two-hour programs through the day, might teach forty to fifty preschool children more or less daily at an increase in costs of $2-$3 per week per child. Plainly, the definition that "developmental care has a compensatory or daily educational component" has relatively little *financial* significance.[1]

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[1] Airlie House volumes from the Office of Child Development note over thirty-five such programs. (See U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Chapter Four.)

The third definition, that *"developmental care is comprehensive care"*, is the one *used in the Westat Day Care Survey, 1970*.[2] "Scope" of the program is another term used for degree of comprehensiveness.

Recent research and analysis using functional budgeting[3] have defined and described the *standard activities* offered and performed by all reasonable, full-day, child care programs: child care and teaching, administration, feeding, and provision of safe facilities. In addition, many programs offer health care, which typically adds 2-4 per cent to a budget.[4] Some programs also have Supplemental Programs, which are usually for the (direct) benefit of adults. Examples would be transportation, elaborate staff development, job counseling and other career development, family planning, and counseling. Supplemental Programs typically add 5-10 per cent to a fully-costed budget.[5] *The difference in costs between "standard" activities and "comprehensive" care is nearly always less than 20 per cent of a budget*.

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[1] It may also be noted here again that there is little or no evidence of predictable, long-term, cognitive achievement gains from such programs even when they are for more than 5-10 hours per week.

[2] See the Westat *Survey*, "A Typology for Day Care Centers," pp. x-xi.

[3] Functional budgets show how much money is spent on each major activity of a program, rather than how much a person or resource is paid. Techniques for functional budgeting will be published in 1972 by Abt Associates, Inc., 55 Wheeler Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

[4] See Table 8-8 for the percentages of budgets devoted to each activity by centers and systems included in the Abt *Study*.

[5] *Ibid*.

For instance, in the late 1960s, the (then) Children's Bureau of the U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, and the Day Care and Child Development Council of America published "Standards and Costs for Day Care", reproduced here as Tables 8-1 and 8-2.[1] Analysis of the differences in costs between the "minimum" and "desirable" center programs presented shows only 30 per cent of the increase in costs (and "quality") due to expansion in scope of program. The important differences between "minimum" and "desirable" budgets lie instead in the teacher-child ratio; 60 per cent of the increase in costs is for more staff in the classroom. Turning the "desirable" CB-DCCDC budget into a functional budget according to the Abt method shows only about 16 per cent of the budget as Supplemental Programs and transportation.[2] Thus defining "developmental" and/or "desirable" care as "comprehensive in scope" does not make developmental care very different from custodial care, as far as costs are concerned, or as far as direct services to children are concerned.

This is a critical fact for legislators and child care planners and is often overlooked. For instance, the recent Westat Survey of child care centers classified the centers in terms of scope of program but failed to note that the differences in costs among different types of program are due instead mainly to differences in teacher-child ratios and salaries. In the Westat Survey, Type A centers (the least expensive) were considered

> custodial, maintaining the physical well-being and safety of the child, but without any systematic attempt to educate him.... Type C

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[1] These tables are being updated by Mrs. Gwen Morgan of the Office of Planning and Program Coordination, particularly with respect to staff salaries.

[2] According to the Abt method, in a medium-sized center about $360 of the costs per child-year would be attributed to a director's salary or to another administrator performing some parent counseling, etc., as routine, or "necessary", standard activities. Only costs for adult programs in excess of that figure are attributable to Supplemental Programs, or activities in addition to those considered "Standard".

> centers (the most expensive) might be called 'developmental' or 'comprehensive' because they aim to provide everything necessary for the full development of the child's physical, mental, and social capabilities. Good developmental centers conform to the Federal Inter-Agency Day Care Requirements.[1]

A "good" developmental (Type C) facility is said to offer a wide variety of supplemental programs in addition to adequate care and supervision.[2]

The median cost of Type A centers was reported to be $354 per child-year; the median cost of Type C centers was reported to be $1,368 per child-year.[3] Early reports of the Westat data showed median, child-related, staff-child ratios in Type A centers to be about 1:15-1:19; in Type C centers to be about 1:6.[4]

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[1] Published in 1970 as Guidelines; now under proposed revision (relaxation); emphasis ours.

[2] These definitions are from the Westat Survey, pp. x-xi.

[3] As noted above, these costs cannot easily be compared with Abt and CB-DCCDC budgets for several important reasons. The Westat Survey did not use the kind of depth interview and digging for records required to collect comprehensive data on in-kind resource use (use of volunteers, unpaid family members, gifts, unpaid overtime, etc.), estimated by the present authors to average 5-10 per cent of the total resources used by proprietary centers, and 15-25 per cent of the resources used by nonproprietary centers. The Westat estimates for space and management costs are probably also low, especially for proprietary centers. The calculation of full-time-equivalent children was not done on a per-hour basis, but by combining two part-time children as one FTE child. This procedure probably overestimates the number of FTE children and underestimates per-child costs, since the typical part-time child is in a center less than half-time.

[4] The figures of 1:15 and 1:6 come from an OEO work progress report dated 1 March 1970 and correspondence with OEO. Later analysis in OEO indicates the true median may be 1:19 for Type A Centers.

In addition, salaries in Type A centers were very much lower than in Type C centers, in fact below poverty level for many if not most Category A workers.

The differences in costs between these two types are almost certainly due chiefly to the differences in staffing and salaries rather than to the "scope" of programs. Most Type A centers and many Type B centers would not meet Federal Inter-Agency Guidelines, or Massachusetts state laws, and salaries are below minimum wages. It is then wrong to assume that one can significantly lower child care costs by restricting the scope of activities; major reductions in costs could occur only by decreasing the staff time available to children and/or lowering day care salaries. It is also wrong to assume that we can achieve "desirable" or "developmental" care in the operational terms implicit in the CB-DCCDC and Westat models simply by expanding "scope" and adding to the "comprehensiveness" of child care programs. The "scope" of program is an important but secondary feature of good child care as implicitly defined in the Westat, CB-DCCDC, and Abt studies.

Defining developmental care as meeting a child's needs as well as a middle-class home is not very precise for the purposes of planning. Attributes regularly ascribed to such care include day-long, individualized supervision; warm responsiveness; verbal interchange; participation in "real-life" activities (like cooking, laundry, gardening); the opportunity to explore.[1] (It is by no means clear that any or all of these activities are unique to middle-class homes. Moreover, Labov, Baratz and Baratz, Lazerson and others have raised the question whether all income and cultural groups really wish to mimic or join the American middle class, however it is to be defined. See Chapter Three.)

How would "middle-class" care be provided in a child care program? Programs which succeed in maintaining warm, responsive, stimulating environments for child, parents and staff generally give excellent care. They are usually characterized by favorable staff-child ratios, innovative and ingenious uses of space and equipment, teachers who concentrate on children when they are with them (eschewing administration) and, many times, wide age-range mixing (the grouping of different age-groups so that children tend to seek and give attention and care to each other).

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[1] See, for instance, Irving Sigel et al., "Social and Emotional Development in Young Children," in Day Care: Resources for Decisions, E. H. Grotberg, ed. (Washington, D.C.: Office of Economic Opportunity, 1971), pp. 109-134.

Occasionally one finds or hears of such a program with an over-all staff-child ratio of 1:10 or 1:12. The husband and wife, co-director-teachers work year-round. They both cook with the children, make innovative play equipment with the children, see parents gladly in the evening, delight in getting further training, and involve the kids in helping with clean-up. She is a nurse who gives health inspections, he is a phenomenal gardener and carpenter, and they build a ten-hour program for twenty-four city youngsters, aged 1-6, such that it seems no one is ever absent.[1]

Far more often, however, twenty-four children aged 1-6 require a director, a teacher, three aides (one a volunteer), a part-time volunteer cook, a nearby friendly nurse who stops in before work, a Saturday janitor and a fund-raising mother-in-law: an overall staff-child ratio of, say, 6:24 or 1:4.

One difference between these programs is that in the first program the man and wife gladly work 80-hour weeks. They work, really, as four people. And the second program has two volunteers. Thus the literal staff-child ratio (especially the paid staff-child ratio) in this example is not a good indicator of the quality of programs. However, the staff-hours to child-hours ratio and the spirit of the staff-child ratio--that children should have plenty of joyous, responsive staff time available to them in stimulating activities--are indeed good indicators of what is likable about the first program.[2]

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[1] Elizabeth Prescott of Pacific Oaks in California speaks of such an example.

[2] See Urie Bronfenbrenner, "Developmental Research and Public Policy," No. F-1911, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, n.d., for a careful review of some recent research on the importance of responsiveness and 1:1 interaction in child care.

A favorable staff-child ratio (including all paid and unpaid staff) is only one indicator of quality, usually necessary but not sufficient to ensure good programs for young children. It is, however, probably the best, single, objective indicator we have for predicting excellence of child care as we now know it. We have seen that present directors of programs considered by the general public to be "good", in fact do establish the favorable ratios (1:3, 1:4, 1:5) prescribed by the child care specialists of the Children's Bureau, and Day Care and Child Development Council. In the Westat Survey, it is clear that the programs called "developmental" and "comprehensive" are in fact characterized by relatively favorable ratios; the "custodial" programs, most of which would not be licensable in Massachusetts and which could not receive Federal funds, are characterized by unfavorable ratios. The staff-child ratio, although a very imperfect yardstick, is in our present state of knowledge the principal indicator of both costs and quality as we know them.

II. HOW MUCH DO START-UP ACTIVITIES COST? HOW MUCH DOES FEDERAL INTER-AGENCY REQUIREMENT CHILD CARE COST, IN SINGLE CENTERS, IN SYSTEMS OF CENTERS, IN SYSTEMS OF FAMILY DAY CARE HOMES, AND IN MIXED, HOME CARE-CENTER CARE SYSTEMS?[1]

This section considers two questions: start-up costs and recurrent costs. (The costs of administration in government are not reviewed here.)

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[1] Much of the following section is taken from the "OFP Child Care Paper, Final Report," a volume prepared for the U. S. Department of Labor Welfare Reform Planning Staff, November 10, 1971, by Abt Associates. The MEEP staff is grateful to Nancy Snyder, Staff Leader of the WRPS, and to Richard Ruopp, David Warner, and Keith McClellan of Abt Associates for permission to use these materials. This section is intended to speak to, and systematize, start-up difficulties and costs mentioned in the June 1971 meetings held by MEEP all over Massachusetts.

A. Initial Costs and Start-Up (non-recurrent, non-amortized) Costs

Substantial resources are required to move from the initial decision to establish a child care program to the full-scale operation of such a program. These resources may be classified as follows:

- Capital costs of land, building and equipment
- Working capital
- Human effort in planning and implementing a child care program
- Miscellaneous other costs.

If a new facility is to be constructed, or an existing facility is to be renovated, provision for the financing of these activities must be made. The purchase of equipment must be financed. Working capital is needed to bridge the gap between outlays for operating expenses and receipt of funds. In cases where payments from government agencies are involved, this need may be quite substantial.

Much human effort is involved in the planning and implementation of a child care program: The program must be designed; arrangements for a facility must be made; a license must be obtained; staff must be recruited and trained; liaison with the community must be established; funds may have to be raised; and the program will probably operate below capacity (thus underutilizing staff) for the first several months of operation. Although some of the labor required may be volunteered, much if not all must be paid for prior to the receipt of operating funds. Numerous other costs, such as the professional fees of lawyers, accountants and architects, special tax assessments, and license fees must be incurred prior to program operation.

These costs must be very carefully considered. Child care programs are like other "small businesses" and are subject to all the hazards of that form of business organization. (Small, nonproprietary programs are equally vulnerable to failure.) In a recent study of small, new businesses, it was stated that 75 per cent of such businesses fail within the first three years.[1]

The State of Illinois Department of Children and Family Services reports indicate that the half-life of a licensed day care center is about three years.[2] This may very well exceed the national average because of the relatively strict licensing requirements in that state concerning the previous experience of center directors. Larger operations, such as child care systems, chains, and franchise operations may afford protection against some of the hazards of small programs, and they typically have a longer and more stable existence. But many child care enterprises fail in the first pre- and post-operational months for lack of careful consideration of start-up efforts.

Regardless of the kind of child care program to be established (center, home, system), there are a number of steps which should be, and, typically, are taken in moving from the initial decision to establish a child care program, to the full-scale operation of such a program.[3]

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[1] Volney Stefflre, The Small New Business, PB187565 (Washington, D.C.: Clearinghouse for Federal Scientific and Technical Information, 1971), p. 1.

[2] Discussions with State of Illinois licensing officials and William Ireland, Director of Research and Program Planning, State of Illinois Department of Children and Family Services, Spring 1971.

A half-life of three years compares favorably with the half-life of other small businesses. See Brian J. L. Berry, The Impact of Urban Renewal on Small Business: The Hyde Park Kenwood Case (Chicago: University of Chicago, Center for Urban Studies, 1968), p. 120.

[3] For other discussions of this topic, see D. B. Boguslawski, Guide for Establishing and Operating Day Care Centers for Young Children (New York: Child Welfare League of America, Inc., 1966); Judith van Schaack, "Day Nurseries for Pre-Schoolers," Small Business Reporter, Vol. VIII (San Francisco: Bank of America, 1969); and The Day Care and Child Development Council of America, Planning A Day Care Center (Washington, D. C.: The Day Care and Child Development Council of America, Inc., 1971).

These steps, called start-up activities, are the following:

Initial Planning

Feasibility study. Before any other steps are taken, it must be determined that there is, in fact, a desire for day care services, in excess of that currently being provided, which can be met at a tolerable cost. Typically, a demand survey and a survey of existing supply is made to estimate excess demand. The nature of that excess demand--the kinds and amounts of services demanded and the associated prices which potential users are willing to pay--will provide the basis for estimating total operating costs and that portion of total costs which must be met from sources other than user fees.

Development of implementation plan. Having determined that a child care program is feasible, and having outlined the major characteristics of that program (location, capacity, criteria for admission), an implementation plan should be developed to ensure the most efficient sequencing and scheduling of implementation tasks.

Program Design

One of the first major tasks in implementation is to develop a detailed program design. This design will be an important factor in a number of the subsequent implementation tasks, such as the design of the facility and preparation of the application for state license.

Establishment of A Facility

Most of the non-personnel, amortizable start-up costs will be incurred in connection with the establishment of the facility. A reasonable assurance that an acceptable facility will be available must be obtained before any further implementation steps are taken.

Selection of a site. The location and design of a site is determined by the feasibility study, the availability of acceptable land and/or existing structures, and zoning laws. The proposed facility must meet local zoning requirements. Such requirements may present an obstacle if the proposed location is in a residential area.

Negotiation concerning local zoning, health and fire laws. Proprietary child care programs are "semi-commercial" operations; thus, frequently, such programs encounter difficulties in locating in residential areas. Lengthy negotiation may be required to obtain local permission to locate in such areas. Liaison with the local health and fire safety authorities must be developed to insure that all regulations are met. This can require a significant amount of personnel time and can lead to unanticipated additional renovation or new construction costs.

Obtaining financing. Arrangements for funds to cover start-up costs must be made early in the implementation phase. Although usually most of the personnel time required for start-up is donated (requiring no cash outlay), new construction or renovation, purchase of equipment, staff training, and program operation prior to full-scale operation nearly always require substantial cash outlays which must be financed.

In some cases, government subsidized programs may receive planning grants and grants for renovation, though government grants for new construction are rarely made. If grant money is not available for start-up, either equity or debt financing or both must be obtained. Equity financing is undertaken by private and parent organizations organized to provide child care services. In the latter case, parents purchase shares in the program. Debt financing for small programs must be obtained from a bank. For financing a building, banks usually require that the structure be easily convertible into office space. The Small Business Administration will sometimes guarantee loans made to proprietary child care programs by banks.

Construction or renovation of the facility.[1] If the proposed facility necessitates new construction or renovation, the services of an architect must be obtained, a contract with a builder must be negotiated, and provision for inspection of the work at periodic intervals must be made. This step, if necessary, is usually the single most costly activity in the start-up phase.

Purchase and installation of equipment.[2] Kitchen, office, children's play, and maintenance equipment, as well as child and adult furniture must be selected, recruited or purchased, and installed in the facility.

Utilities connections. Arrangements must be made for phone and other utilities (electricity, gas, water). Typically, connection fees and deposits are required.

Payment of special tax assessments. A new child care facility may be subject to special tax assessment for water and sidewalks.

Additional Activities

In addition to establishing the facility, there are a number of time-consuming and costly activities to be undertaken before the proposed child care program can become fully operational.

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[1] For discussions of facility design considerations, see William W. Chase and Minnie Berson, "Planning Preschool Facilities," American Education 3, No. 2-7 (December-January, 1966-1967), and Deutsch, Martin, Nimnicht, et al., Memorandum on Facilities for Early Childhood Education (New York: Educational Facilities Laboratories, 1966).

[2] For a discussion of considerations in selecting equipment, see U. S. Office of Economic Opportunity, Equipment and Supplies: Guidelines for Administrators and Teachers in Child Development Centers (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Office of Economic Opportunity, 1965).

Application for a license. The application for a state license normally must contain a comprehensive description of the proposed program, such as the information in the program design described above. Preparing the license application(s) and discussion of special problems with licensing officials may be very time consuming and costly.

Legal organization. Child care programs may be operated under public auspices (e.g., Headstart), private, nonprofit auspices (e.g., church-sponsored programs), or private, for-profit auspices. In the latter case, the business may either be a corporation or a proprietorship. Unless a program is operated by a public agency (e.g., a Community Action Agency), arrangements must be made for establishing the program as a legal entity, in which case the services of a lawyer will be required.

Obtaining insurance coverage. Arrangements must be made for adequate insurance coverage. Liability insurance is essential, regardless of program design. Other types of insurance typically required are fire insurance, workmen's compensation insurance, auto insurance, business interruption insurance, and insurance against vandalism and malicious mischief.

Fund raising. Unless all costs are to be covered by parent fees or a government grant, funding from other sources must be solicited before the program can begin operation. This effort requires a substantial amount of personnel time.

Recruitment of staff. Key staff must be recruited, interviewed and hired before the program can begin operation. In particular, time and care must be taken in locating a director, since this person will greatly influence the subsequent development of the program; this search can be very costly.

Training of staff. The need for training prior to program operation depends partly on the previous training and experience of the new staff. In any event, a minimum of two weeks of orientation in the proposed program design and procedures, together with special training by specialists in the care of children of the proposed age and background, should be provided before actual service to children is offered.

Initial advertising and public relations. Potential users of the proposed program services must be informed of the program. In many cases, this will require advertising in local newspapers and on radio and television.

Vendor/supplier negotiation. Arrangements with suppliers of materials and foodstuffs must be made prior to program operation if supplies are to be purchased on a controlled and regular basis.

Program operation until operating capacity is reached. With rare exceptions, a proposed program will not begin operation with a capacity enrollment. Typically, several months are required to reach capacity. Nonetheless, most staff members (with the exception of additional teachers and teacher aides) must be employed at or before the beginning of program operation, even though they may not be fully utilized during those first few months. The cost of underutilized staff during this beginning period is a very substantial start-up cost.

All of the activities just described have associated costs which must be incurred if the program is to become operational. Some of these costs, such as the outlays for equipment, can be amortized over the useful life of the time and thus converted to an operating expense. Such costs may be expected to recur sometime in the future of the program and are not unique to the start-up phase. Other costs, such as salaries of those involved in establishing the center, are once-only, nonrecurrent costs, which are unique to the start-up phase.

The total of all costs incurred during start-up constitute the initial capitalization of the program. This total, and the distribution of the total between recurrent and nonrecurrent costs are important to the would-be operator of a child care program.

The start-up costs for a particular program will depend on a number of factors, including:

- Price differences
- Program differences
- Special circumstances

Price differences. Construction costs and labor costs vary considerably throughout Massachusetts.

Program differences. Start-up costs for a center program differ from those for a home care program in nature and probably also differ in amount, depending on special circumstances (the evidence is inconclusive). The comprehensiveness of the program will also affect start-up costs. For example, if transportation is to be provided, a vehicle may have to be purchased.

Special circumstances. While it may be possible for some new programs to locate in facilities requiring only modest renovation, other programs may be forced to locate in a new building or in an existing building requiring extensive renovation. The effectiveness with which the start-up phase is managed will be a big factor in determining the level of start-up personnel costs; very careful administration may cut costs by 50 per cent or more. The time interval between the opening of the program and the achievement of capacity enrollment will, by definition, affect the level of start-up costs. Finally, the degree to which in-kind resources are utilized in start-up will clearly affect the requisite cash outlay. In-kind donations of labor have, in the past, served to conceal the "true cost" of start-up because only cash costs have been reported.

With the understanding that start-up costs can be expected to vary considerably from program to program, we now turn to a consideration of the level and range of these costs.

Capital costs of land, building and equipment. There is an incredible variation in the price of land, depending on location. Land in rural areas may cost only a few hundred dollars per acre, while the per acre cost of land in urban areas may run to hundreds of thousands of dollars. As an average cost for land we will estimate $1 per square foot. The total land area for a 60-child center has been estimated at 250 square feet per child, including building space, outdoor play areas, and areas for driveways and sidewalks.[1] Thus, a rough estimate of average land costs per child would be $250.

Construction costs for new child care facilities have been estimated at $16 to $25 per square foot, based on the reported cost of various kinds of non-residential buildings.[2] Assuming total indoor space requirements per child to range from 50 to 75 square feet, the per child cost of a new facility could range from $800 to $1875. Capital outlays for facilities may be even higher than this. In a recent publication, the Women's Bureau reported the following:

> Over the past few years various sources have been consulted and the consensus estimate for total capital outlay has been approximately $2,000 per child. In some areas costs are much higher.[3]

Renovation costs will vary from the few hundred dollars required to convert church space and private homes (in good condition) into child care facilities, to costs approaching those for new construction.[4]

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[1] Joseph A. Lane, "Program Characteristics of the Standard (Mark IV) Day Care Center." Memorandum prepared for Abt Associates, Inc., 55 Wheeler Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts, September 15, 1970, p. 6.

[2] Inner City Fund, Potential Cost and Economic Benefit of Industrial Day Care, a Report for the U. S. Department of Labor, Washington, D.C., May, 1971 (Washington, D. C.: Inner City Fund, 1971), p. 19.

Construction costs of $15 to $23 per square foot were used in a recent study of day care centers. See Contracting Corporation of America, Day Care Center Feasibility Study: Preliminary Facts and Findings (Chicago: Contracting Corporation of America, 1970), p. 30.

[3] U. S. Department of Labor, Workplace Standards Administration Women's Bureau, Day Care Services: Industry's Involvement, Bulletin No. 296 (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1971), p. 22.

[4] The KLH Child Development Center in Cambridge, Mass. is located in a converted warehouse. Consisting of (Continued)

The cost to equip a center will vary with the equipment demands of the program design and the willingness of operators to make-do with old and homemade equipment. High and low cost estimates for a 60-child center have been estimated in a recent book on the planning and operation of a day care center as follows:

Equipment Costs[1]

	Low	High
Educational	$1,705	$ 9,069
Caretaking and Housekeeping	1,248	2,628
Office	440	1,890
Kitchen	6,000	8,000
Total	$9,610	$21,587
Cost per child	$160	$360

Equipment costs for a 60-child center have been estimated by a day care economist at approximately $20,000, or $333 per child.[2] Thus, the above range would appear to be reasonable.

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4 (Continued) 12,000 square feet, it cost $75,500 to renovate (including architect's fees) or $6.30 per square foot. With a capacity of 70 children, the per child cost of renovation was $1,080. See Joseph R. Curran and John W. Jordan, The KLH Experience, An Evaluation Report of Day Care in Action at the KLH Child Development Center, Cambridge, Mass., 1970.

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[1] E. Belle Evans, Beth Shub, and Marlene Weinstein, Day Care: How to Plan, Develop, and Operate A Day Care Center (Boston: Beacon Press, 1971), pp. 259, 263.

[2] Lane, "Program Characteristics of the Standard Day Care Center," p. 7.

For day care homes, there are usually no additional land costs, since the land on which the home is located is sufficient. The MEEP staff estimates the cost of renovation and equipment for home care to be $50 to $300 per home. Assuming an average of five children per home, the per child costs range from approximately $10 to $60.

Where a facility is leased, of course, the capital outlay for the land and building are (or have been) made by the owner and need not be provided for by the program operator. (The amortized value of these capital outlays will be reflected in the rental rates.) The point is that the capital outlay will have to be financed by someone.

Working capital. Once the program begins operation (with the exception of the cost of underutilized staff discussed below), cash outlays are for operating costs rather than start-up costs (by definition). These outlays must be made before income is received from user fees, government and/or private sources. If funding is from a government agency, there may be a delay in payment of several months. Thus, provision must be made for working capital to bridge the gap between program, operating cost, cash outlays and receipt of funds. The level of working capital required will vary from one week of operating expense for centers whose only source of income is weekly user fees to several months for centers totally dependent on government funds. Assuming that the weekly cost per child will range from $10 to $40, the need for working capital *per child* could range from $10 (1 week x $10) to $480 (12 weeks x $40).

Professional and nonprofessional labor costs and miscellaneous other expenses. All the labor required for planning and implementing a child care program, the cost of underutilized staff during the first few months of operation, and the miscellaneous fees and tax assessments incurred during start-up are included in this category. Joseph Lane estimated that for a 60-child center, these costs range from $10,000 to $40,000 with close control, and could go as high as $60,000 with poor cost control.[1] Thus, the estimated per child cost could range from $170 to $1,000. The MEEP staff has estimated such costs as ranging from $500 to $1,000 per child.[1] For example, a 70-child capacity center funded by the federal government received a $60,000 planning grant to cover this category of start-up costs (i.e., about $850 per child).[2] Thus, a range of $200 to $1,000 per child for these kinds of start-up costs would appear to be reasonable for planning purposes. Such start-up costs for a day care home, with equivalent provision for training and licensing, have been estimated by the MEEP staff to range from $230 to $650.

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[1] Joseph A. Lane, "Pre-opening and Start-up Costs," memorandum prepared for Abt Associates, Inc., 55 Wheeler St., Cambridge, Mass. 02138, September 15, 1970, p. 2.

Taken together, costs total as follows:

- Capital cost of land, building and equipment may range from $714 to $1,899 per child.
- Working capital needed may range from $13 to $625 per child.
- Labor and miscellaneous start-up costs may range from $250 to $1,167 per child.
- Total start-up costs may thus range from $1,000 to $3,750 per child.

The most important conclusions suggested by this review are as follows. First, the range of estimated start-up costs is dramatic, even when the structure of demand is known. Second, the need to recruit money and other resources, to cover start-up costs, is critical to day care success. Third, the level of start-up costs is very sensitive to the mix of homes and centers used for meeting needs. Because of the generally lower cost of facilities renovation, home care may require less "front-end" money. Finally, the level of start-up costs for a whole state is sensitive to the anticipated failure rate of new programs.

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[1] U. S. Senate, Child Care Hearings for S.2003, September, 1971, p. 276.

[2] Urban Research Corporation, Proceedings of the Conference on Industry and Day Care (Chicago: Urban Research Corporation, 1970), p. 22.

B. Recurrent Costs

Introduction to the Budgets

Many different child care budgets are now available. The budgets that are included here are for illustrative purposes. The reader is asked to consider each item, substituting costs more relevant to local conditions as necessary (this is especially important with respect to staff). In the following budgets all items are fully costed. In real centers and homes volunteers and donations may substantially lower the cash (not "real") costs.

Tables 8-1 and 8-2 are the well-known Children's Bureau Day Care and Child Development Council budgets for centers and homes; Table 8-3 is the Abt Study in Child Care budget for twenty-five children in average daily attendance (twenty-eight enrollees). Table 8-4 is for a system of centers (showing costs at two different salary levels); Table 8-5 is for a system of homes; Table 8-6 is for a mixed, home-care, center care system. Tables 8-5 and 8-6 show both low salary levels and also costs per child where salaries are raised 15 per cent. Table 8-7 presents variations in costs for special circumstances. Table 8-8 shows proportions of budgets spent for different functions of programs and sources of revenues for the centers and systems of the Abt Study.

These budgets are presented to demonstrate a wide variation in possible costs per child, and to demonstrate that "low-cost" child care can only result from very low salaries, large numbers of children per staff member, or the use of in-kind resources (systems' economies and variations in programs provide lesser variations in costs; see especially Table 8-7).

Systems

In planning for the delivery of day care services, interest has focused on systems of child care programs as an alternative to small, independent operations. A child care system is simply a group of centers or a group of homes or both, organized under one central administration. These various arrangements are referred to here as center care systems, home care systems, and center-home mixed systems. (The basic theoretical advantage of a system is its apparent ability to serve large numbers while controlling both costs and quality.) In the following discussion, a brief description of the organization and staffing of a model of each kind of system, together with cost estimates, is presented.

For each kind of system, a core model is defined. The three core models have the following characteristics:

- Many children (more than 100) are served;
- Service is limited to preschool children (ages 3 to 6);
- The system is located in an urban or semi-urban setting (SMSA);
- The system conforms to Federal Interagency Requirements (5/71 draft) with respect to teacher/child ratios (1:8 for preschool children);
- The system provides a semi-organized program of play and informal education with one nutritious meal per day. Comprehensive health services, transportation, formal education, and social services are not provided;
- Care is available for ten hours a day, Monday through Friday, fifty-two weeks a year (250 days exclusive of holidays).

Systems budgets: core models and variations. Variations in each core model are considered, along the following dimensions:

- Service to infants and/or school-age children, in addition to preschool children;
- System location in a nonurban area (non-SMSA);
- Alternative teacher/child ratio (1:6), (1:10);
- Provision of additional services, including comprehensive health care, transportation, formal education, and social services;

- Extended (i.e., 25 per cent more) hours of service.

Cost estimates for the core model and for each of the variations listed are presented and explained, assuming 1971-1972 prices. Many readers will consider the core model costs and salaries to be very low. These figures are however given to demonstrate costs for a basic program providing no extra services. And day care salaries are "low" in Massachusetts, as elsewhere (on the average only 60-65 per cent of public school salaries). Please also note the variations in personnel salaries provided in the budgets.

Center care system. A center care system consists of two or more child care centers at separate locations but under a common administration. The model system presented here is designed to accommodate about 1,500 children in eighteen to twenty-two centers, each with an enrollment of fifty to one hundred children. One room is provided for every sixteen children. The staff includes:

- two caretaker-teachers for each room, for a required teacher/child ratio of 1:8;
- one director, one secretary-bookkeeper (half-time), one cook, and one custodian (half-time) for each center (i.e., three full-time equivalent staff members);
- one system director, one assistant director, two secretaries, one bookkeeper, and two sub-center assistants for the central office (i.e., seven staff members).

Thus total staffing requirements for the system (assuming an average of twenty centers) are:

. Teaching staff (1500 ÷ 8)	188
. Non-teaching center staff	60
. Central Office staff	7
Total	255
Overall staff/child ratio:	1:5.9
Teacher/child ratio:	1:8

In Table 8-4, a model annual budget, showing costs by major program function, is presented.

Home care system. A home care system consists of a number of child care homes under a central administration. The model system presented here provides for a number of subsystems of homes, coordinated by a central administration. Each subsystem has twenty to forty homes in a concentrated geographical area and serves 120 to 240 children.

The system, consisting of thirty-five to forty-five subsystems, can accommodate approximately 5,000 children. Staff includes:

- one parent-caretaker for no more than six children (including his/her own) for a maximum teacher/child ratio of 1:6;
- one director, one secretary-bookkeeper, and two home aides for each subsystem (i.e., four staff members);
- one director, one assistant director, three subsystem assistants, three clerk-typists, and one bookkeeper for central administration (i.e., nine staff members).

Thus, staffing requirements are the following:

. Parent-caretakers (assume an average of five children per home, which can happen in only a very efficient system)	1,000
. Subsystem staff (assume average of forty subsystems)	160
. Central Office staff	9
Total	1,169
Overall staff/child ratio:	1:4.3
Teacher/child ratio:	1:5

A hypothetical annual budget for this model is presented in Table 8-5.

Home care-center care, mixed system. A center-home mixed system model is easily derived from the home care system model by converting the subsystem administrative offices of the home care system into child care centers. Each converted subsystem may accommodate fifty to one hundred children in center care and 120 to 240 children in home care. With eighteen to twenty-two subsystems, 5,000 children can be served, with approximately 1,500 children in center care and 3,500 children in home care. Staffing of homes and the central office will be identical to the home care system model. Staffing at the subsystem center will include one director, one assistant director, one secretary, one bookkeeper (half-time), one cook, one custodian (half-time), two home aides, and sufficient teaching staff to maintain a teacher/child ratio of 1:8.

Thus, total staffing requirements will be:

. Parent-caretakers (assume average of five children per home; 3,500 children in home care)	700
. Subsystem center teaching staff (assume 1,500 children in center care, with teacher/child ratio of 1:8)	188
. Subsystem center non-teaching staff (assume average of twenty centers)	140
. Central Office staff	9
Total	1,037
Overall staff/child ratio:	1:4.8
Teacher/child ratio:	1:5.6

The annual budget for this system model is presented in Table 8-6.

Variations in the Core Models

In this section, variations in the core models are considered and the basis for estimating the costs associated with each variation is explained. All cost estimates are summarized in Table 8-7.

System location in a nonurban area (non-SMSA). In developing price indexes for the Abt Study, it was found that prices in SMSA areas tended to be 15 per cent to 30 per cent higher than prices in the surrounding non-SMSA areas. Thus, to derive cost estimates for SMSA and non-SMSA areas, it was assumed that the ratio of costs in the former to costs in the latter is approximately 1.23 (i.e., middle of the range). Further, it was assumed that child care services will be equally divided between SMSA and non-SMSA areas.

Alternative teacher/child ratios. To derive cost estimates for alternative teacher/child ratios, we varied the number of children to be served while holding teaching staff constant and assumed that all nonteaching costs would vary proportionately with the number of children. Teacher/child ratios of 1:6 and 1:10 were considered.

Adding infant care. The effect on the overall cost per child of adding 20 per cent infants to the core model was considered. It was assumed that the only cost impact would be that resulting from the greater number of staff needed for infant care.

Adding school-age care. Adding 30 per cent school-age children to the core model was handled in the same way as adding infant care (see above). A ratio of 1:15 was used. An adjustment was made to allow for the less than full-day care required by school-age children during the nine-month school year. No allowance was made for unutilized space or "down-time" of staff while children are in school, nor was any account taken of the higher salaries of specialized staff which may be required.

Adding transportation. Among the twenty child care programs in the Abt Study, the annual transportation costs (essentially driver's salary plus vehicle operating costs) ranged from $68 to $226 per child with an average cost of $141. We assumed that costs would be 25 per cent above the average in rural areas because of the greater distances involved, and 25 per cent below the average in urban areas.

Adding health care. Among centers in the Abt Study offering more than routine physical check-ups, yearly health costs ranged from $95 to $516 with an average cost of $192. The $125 estimate used here is because the average from the Abt data was regarded as unduly high, resulting from one extreme value in a small sample.

Adding a formal educational component. Having a formal education component implies the existence of an in-service training program. Staff training costs among the twenty centers in the Abt Study ranged from $20 to $160 with an average per-child cost of $71 per year. Allowing some further cost for more formally qualified personnel, the rough estimate is $100 per child per year.

Adding social services. At a minimum, a social service program would require one social worker and an aide for every one hundred children enrolled. Assuming an annual salary of $7,000 and $4,000 for these two positions leads to an estimate of $110 per child per year.

Extended hours. We assumed that extending the hours of service by 25 per cent would increase teaching staff costs by a like amount but would leave all other costs unchanged.

III. WHERE DO THE RESOURCES FOR CHILD CARE COME FROM?

Previous sections show that resources used in fully-costed, "good" child care with adequate salaries are worth $1,500-$2,500 per child-year (depending on services provided), not including start-up costs and bureaucratic costs. Child care with less than ideal staff-child ratios and with narrower "scope", licensable in Massachusetts, costs from $1,000-$1,500 per child year (see Table 8-7).

The "need" for further child care support in Massachusetts has been variously defined as:

- at least the 1 per cent - 2 per cent of 0-6-year-olds who are left alone--at least 14,000 - 21,000 young children in Massachusetts;[1]
- at least those 10 per cent of 0-6-year-olds who are abused, who live with rats, and lead poisoning, or in other unacceptable environments--perhaps 70,000 children in Massachusetts;
- the 10-15 per cent of 0-6-year-olds who live in poverty and near-poverty families which need support to provide adequate care--70,000 - 105,000 young children in Massachusetts;
- the 28 per cent of Massachusetts mothers who work outside the home, who have 160,000 0-6-year-olds for whom to find care;
- the 175,000 children whose parents report at least "some difficulty" in making arrangements.[2]

The cost of programs for these children could hardly average less than $1,000 per child-year, even assuming a considerable amount of part-time care. If care for 14,000 - 175,000 children cost between $1,000 and $2,000 per child per year this would amount to $14,000,000 - $375,000,000 in recurrent costs per year. (Start-up costs might amount to at least another $100,000,000 on a once-only basis.)

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[1] This estimate comes from Low and Spindler, Child Care Arrangements of Working Mothers in the United States, Children's Bureau Pub. No. 461-1968, U. S. Department of Labor and U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1968. It may, of course, be low, since many parents who leave young children alone would not be expected to report the fact.

[2] These five categories may, of course, overlap and should not be added together.

A. Sources of Support for Child Care

We know that most parents would not pay even $20 per week per child, according to the MEEP survey. Who will pay the cost of child care? There is no adequate survey for Massachusetts, but the Abt and Westat studies give a clear picture of the funding of formal American child care. In the Abt Study of "good" child care, federal, state and local governments were found to supply about half of all resources to formal child care. Another 23 per cent of all resources were in-kind (volunteers and donations). About 10 per cent of all resources come from private and community agencies, and parent fees account for only 15 per cent of total costs.

The Westat Survey data are not dissimilar. The Survey did not adequately collect data on in-kind resources (estimated by the MEEP staff as 5-10 per cent of the resources used in proprietary programs and at least 15-25 per cent of the resources used in nonproprietary programs). But with respect to other sources of funds, Westat also found over half of total resources to come from federal, state, and local government agencies (including Welfare). Parent fees accounted for about 40 per cent of total costs.

B. Federal Sources of Support

Given the current revenue system, most of the government subsidies needed for the operation of child care programs will come from the federal government. Congress and Mr. Nixon are publicly committed to increasing the federal resources available for child care, although the precise form of assistance and the system of delivering funds to meet individual child care needs is uncertain. Thus, despite repeated delays at the federal level, we expect a substantial increase in federal funds for child care in the next year or two.

There are, however, already literally dozens of federal sources of child care funds available.[1] These sources have been developed over the years piece by piece, each in response to a particular kind of need and political pressure. The lack of effective coordination of these sources, at any level of government and especially at the local program level, is a serious weakness in the current system. In Chapter Nine we recommend some ways to increase the effective coordination of these resources.

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[1] For a complete list of available federal resources contact Mrs. Gwen Morgan, Governor's Advisory Committee on Child Development, 100 Cambridge St., Boston, Massachusetts.

One major source of federal funds for child care is Title IVA of the Social Security Act. Under this act, substantial and unlimited funds are available to reimburse the state for 75 per cent of the costs of child care for former, current, and potential welfare families. Although other states have used this act to great advantage in developing large federally supported child care programs, exceeding $100 million in some cases, Massachusetts has seriously lagged in utilizing this act. Only in the past year has serious attention been given to the possible uses of Title IVA funds.

We recommend that the Governor and the Legislature make fuller use of Title IVA funds as a way to begin providing a state-wide base of child care services. High priority should be given to assisting local groups to become organized to meet their child care needs through a variety of funding sources. The delay at the federal level in providing massive new child care funds provides the state with an opportunity to help local child care groups throughout Massachusetts become organized to use existing child care resources and to develop additional resources through effective representation of their needs.

C. Summary

This picture of multiple sources of funds and volunteers must continue if child care is to expand in this country. There is an enormous gap between what parents can and will pay and what they want and need. This gap will be filled only by continuing to mobilize all possible volunteers (e.g., high school students, grandparents, rehabilitating hospital patients, including veterans). It will be filled only if private and public agencies continue to find funds and space, to give political, moral, administrative, and emotional support to child care programs in every way.

At least 10 per cent of Massachusetts children 0-14 are left alone at least some hours of the day; probably 3-4 per cent of all 0-6-year-olds are thus left alone while their parents work. Others are in very inadequate care.

There are no magic answers to the real and deeply felt questions of the many parents who want assistance to meet their child care needs. No legislation, no money, no expertise, no good will by itself will begin to solve the perceived and pressing child care problems.

The amount still unknown about demand and supply for child care is enormous; many questions have yet to be asked, let alone studied or answered. There are many ways to aid parents to meet their growing child care needs; no study or group of studies suggests a monolithic approach. The problems in providing child care that is inexpensive for parents, close to home, at the "right" hours, for the "right" length of time, of the "right" kind, are many and thorny. No matter how enthusiastic they may be, efforts that depart from a clear and solid base of data and discussion stand no likelihood of success. Only informed, imaginative, and sustained programs and policies, nurtured by the wonder and delight that flows through young children, can fill the great gaps between current practice and current need.

Table 8-1
BUDGET ITEMS, DESCRIPTION, AND COST*
CHILD CARE CENTER, FULL DAY, ANNUAL COST PER CHILD

Budget	(a) Minimum	(b) Acceptable	(c) Desirable
1. Food	$140 one meal and snacks	$210 two meals and snacks	$210 two meals and snacks
2. Transportation	$0 not provided	$60	$60
3. Medical and Dental	$20 examinations and referral service	$20 examinations and referral service	$60 examinations, treatment when not otherwise available and health education
4. Parent Activities and Counseling	$10 problem cases only	$30 general parent activities plus limited counseling	$70 parent education, family-type activities, and full counseling services
5. Facilities (rent) and Utilities	$90 meets state and local requirements	$90 meets state and local requirements	$110 more generous space
6. Clothing and Other Emergency Needs	$20 as necessary	$20 as necessary	$20 as necessary
7. Supplies and Materials	$40 custodial program	$50 general developmental program	$75 individualized developmental program
8. Equipment (annual replacement costs)	$10	$12	$15

cont'd.

Table 8-1 (cont'd)

Budget Item	(a) Minimum	(b) Acceptable	(c) Desirable
9. Staff			
a. classroom professional @ $6,600	$275 one per 20 children	$405 one per 15 children	$405 one per 15 children
b. classroom nonprofessional @ $4,400	$320 two per 20 children	$420 two per 15 children	$640 three per 15 children
c. social service professional @ $6,600	$65 one per 150 children	$65 one per 100 children	$65 one per 100 children
d. community, social service, parent or health aide @ $4,400	$0	$20 one per 100 children	$40 two per 100 children
e. business (sec. and Maintenance) @ $4,000	$80 two per 100 children	$120 three per 100 children	$120 three per 100 children
f. special resource personnel @ $6,600 (psychology, music, art, etc.)	$20 urgent need only	$60 one per 100 children	$120 two per 100 children

cont'd.

Table 8-1 (cont'd)

Budget Item	(a) Minimum	(b) Acceptable	(c) Desirable
g. supervision	$80 one per 100 children	$160 two per 100 children	$160 two per 100 children
10. Training	$75 about 10% of salary costs	$120 about 10% of salary costs	$145 about 10% of salary costs
TOTAL	$1,245	$1,862	$2,320

*Cost figures based on centers providing service 10 to 12 hours a day, five days a week.

Source: "Standards and Costs for Day Care," Compiled in 1968 by the Day Care and Child Development Council of America, 1426 H Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005, and the then Children's Bureau of the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (now the Office of Child Development in HEW).

Table 8-2

BUDGET ITEMS, DESCRIPTION, AND COST*
FAMILY DAY CARE, FULL DAY, ANNUAL COST PER CHILD

Budget Item	(a) Minimum	(b) Acceptable	(c) Desirable
1. Food	$100 one meal and snacks	$150 two meals and snacks	$150 two meals and snacks
2. Transportation	$0	$0	$0
3. Medical and Dental	$20 examination and referral services	$20 examination and referral services	$60 examinations, treatment when not otherwise available, and health education
4. Parent Activities and Counseling	$10 problem cases only	$30 general parent activities plus limited counseling	$70 parent education, family-type activities, full counseling services
5. Facilities and Utilities	$30 special maintenance allowance in view of rent plus central administrative space, in all cases	$30	$30
6. Clothing and Other Emergency Needs	$20 as necessary	$20 as necessary	$20 as necessary
7. Supplies and Materials	$20 limited developmental program	$35 developmental program	$50 enriched developmental program

cont'd.

Table 8-2(Cont'd.)

Budget Item	(a) Minimum	(b) Acceptable	(c) Desirable
8. Equipment (annual replacement cost)	$9	$15	$20
9. Staff			
a. day care mother @$4,400	$880 one per 5 children	$1,110 one per 4 children	$1,110 one per 4 children
b. social service professional @ $6,600	$44 one per 150 children	$66 one per 100 children	$66 one per 100 children
c. community, social service, parent or health aide @$4,400	$0	$44 one per 100 children	$44 two per 100 children
d. business @ $4,400	$80 two per 100 children	$80 two per 100 children	$80 two per 100 children
e. special resource personnel @$6,600 (psychology, music, art, etc.)	$20 urgent need only	$132 two per 100 children	$240 four per 100 children
f. supervision @ $8,000	$80	$160	$240

cont'd.

Table 8-2 (Cont'd)

Budget Item	(a) Minimum	(b) Acceptable	(c) Desirable
10. Training	$100 about 10% of salary costs	$150 about 10% of salary costs	$178 about 10% of salary costs
TOTAL	$1,423	$2,032	$2,372

*Cost figures based on service provided 10 to 12 hours a day, 5 days a week.

Source: "Standards and Costs for Day Care," compiled in 1968 by the Day Care and Child Development Council of America, 1426 H Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005, and the then Children's Bureau of the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (now the Office of Child Development in HEW).

Table 8-3

DETAILED MODEL BUDGET FOR A CENTER WITH TWENTY-FIVE CHILDREN (ADA)

Cost per child: $2350 (ADA)
$2100 (ENR)

I.	Personnel			
	A.	Care and teaching		
		2 teachers @ $6,000	$12,000	
		2 assistant teachers @ $5,400	10,800	
		1 aide @ $3,450	3,450	
		Fringe benefits and payroll taxes @ 10.2%	2,678	
				$28,928
	B.	Administration		
		1 director @ $8,400	8,400	
		1 secretary 1/4 time @ $5,400	1,350	
		Fringe benefits and payroll taxes @ 10.2%	994	
				$10,744
	C.	Feeding		
		1 cook 1/2 time @ $5,250	2,625	
		Fringe benefits and payroll taxes @ 10.2%	268	
				2,893
	D.	Health		
		1 nurse 1/10 time @ $5,900	590	
		Fringe benefits and payroll taxes @10.2%	60	
				650
	E.	Occupancy 1/4 time @ $4,550	1,138	
		Fringe benefits and payroll taxes @10.2%	116	
				1,254
		Total Personnel		$44,469*

Table 8-3 (Cont.)

II. Non-personnel			
A. Teaching materials, etc.	1,875		
B. Administration	2,100		
C. Foodstuffs and related	4,000		
D. Health	175		
E. Rent and Related	6,100		
Total Non-Personnel		14,250	
TOTAL			$58,719

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[*] The figure of $44,649 in Table IV, page 54 of the Abt Study is an error.

Source: Abt Associates Inc., A Study in Child Care, 1970-71, pursuant to OEO Contract No. OEO-B00-5213, April 1971, available from the Office of Education, from the Office of Economic Opportunity and from Abt Associates, Inc., 55 Wheeler street, Cambridge, Mass., p. 54, Table IV.

Table 8-4

CENTER CARE SYSTEM ANNUAL BUDGET[1]
(1,500 Children)

I.	Care and Teaching		
	188 Caretaker-teachers @ 4,500 [2] (or $7,000)*	$846,000	
	Fringe Benefits and Payroll taxes @ 10%	89,600	
	Educational Consumables @ $30/child	45,000	
	Other @ $35/child[3]	52,500	
	Subtotal (Cost per child)		$1,028,100 (685)
II.	Administration (assume 20 centers)		
	System Director @ $20,000[4]	20,000	
	Assistant System Director @ $16,000[4]	16,000	
	2 System Secretaries @ $5,700	11,400	
	1 System Bookkeeper @ $9,000[4]	9,000	
	2 Subcenter Assistants @ $10,000	20,000	
	20 Center Directors @ $9,400	188,000	
	20 Center Secretary-Bookkeepers (1/2 time) @ $5,700	57,000	
	Fringe Benefits and Payroll Taxes @ 10%	32,100	
	Other @ $74/child[5]	111,000	
	Subtotal (Cost per child)		464,500 (310)

Table 8-4 (Cont'd.)

III. Feeding (assume 20 centers)		
20 Cooks @$5,300	$106,000	
Fringe Benefits and Payroll Taxes @ 10%	10,600	
Foodstuffs @ $132/child	198,000	
Other @ $9/child[6]	13,500	
Subtotal (Cost per child)		328,100 (219)
IV. Occupancy (assume 20 centers)		
20 Custodians (1/2 time) @ $4,600	46,000	
Fringe Benefits and Payroll Taxes @ 10%	4,600	
Rent @ $175/child	262,500	
Other @ $4/child[7]	60,000	
Subtotal (Cost per child)		373,100 (249)
TOTAL		$2,193,800

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*Cost per child (teachers paid an average $4,500): $1,463

Cost per child (teachers paid an average $7,000): $1,807.

Notes to Table 8-4

1 All figures based on averages from Abt Study in Child Care unless otherwise indicated.

2 Average of teacher salaries from Abt Study ($5,700) and minimum wage for aides ($3,328), rounded. The $7,000 figure is included to show wages that may be considered preferable by child care planners. Budget totals refer however to wages of $4500.

3 Field trips, equipment depreciation, and miscellaneous.

4 Based on system of comparable size from Abt study.

5 Equipment depreciation, office supplies, telephone, staff travel, liability insurance, audit and legal fees.

6 Equipment depreciation, non-food supplies.

7 Housekeeping supplies, utilities, taxes, and insurance.

Table 8-5

HOME CARE SYSTEM ANNUAL BUDGET[1]
(5,000 Children)

I. Care and Teaching		
1,000 Parent-caretakers @ $3,800[2] (avg.)	$3,800,000	
Fringe Benefits and Payroll Taxes @ 10%	380,000	
Educational Consumables @ $30/child	150,000	
Other @ $35/child[3]	175,000	
Subtotal (cost per child)		$4,505,000 (901)
II. Administration		
System Director @ $30,000[4]	30,000	
Assistant System Director @ $24,000[4]	24,000	
3 Subsystem Assistants @ $14,000[4]	42,000	
3 Clerk typists @$14,000[4]	17,000	
System Bookkeeper @$12,000[4]	12,000	
40 Subsystem Directors @ $9,400	376,000	
40 Secretary-bookkeepers @ $5,700	228,000	
80 Home Aides @ $4,500	360,000	
Fringe Benefits and Payroll Taxes @ 10%	109,000	
Other @ $74/child[5]	370,000	
Subtotal (Cost per child)		$1,568,100 (314)

Table 8-5 (Cont'd.)

III.	Feeding		
	Foodstuffs @$132/child	660,000	
	Other @ $5/child[6]	25,000	
	Subtotal (Cost per Child)		658,000 (137)
IV.	Occupancy		
	Home Expenses @$220/home /year	220,000	
	Office space[7]	32,000	
	Subtotal (Cost per Child)		252,000 (50)
	TOTAL		$7,010,100

Cost per Child	$1,402
Cost per child, all salaries raised 15%	$1,564

Notes to Table 8-5

1 All figures are based on averages from the Abt Study, unless otherwise indicated.

2 Roughly 15 per cent above current minimum wage ($3328/year) but below poverty level ($4000 for a family of four). Please note, this parent-caretaker receives in addition $900 per year for home and child expenses. It may also be assumed that of the five children, one or more might be own children. It is difficult to compare payment per hour (the MEEP suggestion) with present payments per child in Massachusetts. (Under the present system the caretaker must pay child and home expenses out of her per-child earnings.) We believe however that these budgeted salaries are actually higher than modal earnings of most present home-caretakers in family day care.

3 Field trips, equipment depreciation, miscellaneous expenses.

4 Based on systems of comparable size from the Abt Study.

5 Equipment depreciation, office supplies, telephone, staff travel, liability insurance, and audit and legal fees.

6 Nonfood supplies.

7 An average of 75 square feet/person x 169 people requiring office space x $2.50/square foot rental.

Table 8-6

CENTER-HOME MIXED SYSTEM ANNUAL BUDGET[1]

(5,000 Children)

I.	**Care and Teaching**		
	700 Parent-caretakers @ $3,800 (avg.)	$2,660,000	
	188 Caretaker-teachers @ $4,500 (avg.)	846,000	
	Fringe Benefits and Payroll Taxes @ 10%	350,600	
	Educational Consumables @ $30/child	150,000	
	Other @ $35/child[2]	175,000	
	Subtotal (cost per child)		$4,181,600
II.	**Administration**		
	System Director @$30,000	30,000	
	Assistant System Director @ $24,000	24,000	
	3 Subsystem Assistants @ $14,000	42,000	
	3 Clerk typists @$5,700	17,100	
	System Bookkeeper @$12,000	12,000	
	20 Subsystem Center Directors @ $12,000	240,000	
	20 Subsystem Assistant Center Directors @ $7,000	140,000	
	20 Subsystem Center Secretaries @ $5,400	108,000	
	20 Sub-system Center Bookkeepers (1/2 time) @$6,000	60,000	

	40 Home Aides @$4,500	180,000	
	Fringe Benefits and Payroll Taxes @ 10%	85,300	
	Other @ \$74/child[3]	370,000	
	Subtotal (cost per child)		1,308,400 (262)
III.	Feeding		
	20 Cooks @ $5,300	106,000	
	Fringe Benefits and Payroll Taxes @ 10%	10,600	
	Foodstuffs @ $132/child	660,000	
	Other @ \$9/child[4]	45,000	
	Subtotal (cost per child)		821,600 (164)
IV.	Occupancy		
	20 Custodians (1/2 time) @ $4,600	46,000	
	Fringe Benefits and Payroll Taxes @ 10%	4,600	
	Rent:		
	$175/child for 1,500 children in centers	252,500	
	$220/home/year for 700 homes	154,000	
	Other @ $40/child for 1,500 children in centers	60,000	
	Subtotal (cost per child)		$527,100 (105)
	TOTAL		$6,838,700
	Cost per Child		$1,368
	Cost per Child (all salaries raised 15%)		$1,528

Notes to Table 8-6

1 All figures are drawn from other system model budgets, unless otherwise indicated. Please refer carefully to Footnote 2, Table 8-5.

2 Field trips, equipment depreciation, miscellaneous.

3 Equipment depreciation, office supplies, telephone, staff travel, liability insurance, and audit and legal fees.

4 Equipment depreciation and nonfood supplies.

5 Housekeeping supplies, utilities, taxes, and insurance.

Table 8-7

SUMMARY OF COST ESTIMATES FOR CORE MODELS AND VARIATIONS

(by cost per child-year)

Type of System	Preschool Core Program I Teacher/Child Ratio - Center 1:8; Home 1:5; Mixed 1:5.6	Preschool Core Program II Teacher/Child Ratio - 1:6	Preschool Core Program III Teacher/Child Ratio - 1:10	Add 20% Infants to Preschool Core Program I - Teacher/ Infant Ratio 1:3	Add 20% Infants to Preschool Core Program II - Teacher/ Infant Ratio 1:4	Add 30% School-age Children to Preschool Core Program I - Teacher/School Age Child Ratio 1:15	Add Child Transportation	Add Health Component	Add Formal Education	Add Social Services	Add Extended Hours (25% more) For Preschool Core Program I
Center System											
SMSA	1,614	1,841	1,477	+190	+115	-207	+106	+138	+110	+121	+171
Non-SMSA	1,312	1,497	1,201	+154	+ 93	-169	+176	+112	+ 90	+99	+139
National Average	1,463	1,669	1,339	+172	+104	-188	+141	+125	+100	+110	+155
Home System											
SMSA	1,546	1,393	1,085	+103	+ 39	-239	+106	+138	+110	+121	+231
Non-SMSA	1,258	1,133	883	+ 83	+ 31	-194	+176	+112	+ 90	+ 99	+187
National Average	1,402	1,263	984	+ 93	+ 35	-217	+141	+125	+100	+110	+209
Mixed System											
SMSA	1,509	1,452	1,135	+122	+ 56	-224	+106	+138	+110	+121	+213
Non-SMSA	1,227	1,180	923	+100	+ 46	-182	+176	+112	+ 90	+ 99	+173
National Average	1,368	1,316	1,029	+111	+ 51	-203	+141	+125	+100	+110	+193

Source: Abt Associates, Inc., A Study in Child Care, 1970-71, pursuant to OEO Contract No. OEO-B005213.

Table 8-8
Functional Budgeting and Estimated Funding

	Centers														Systems							
	Amalgamated	American	Avco	Casper	Central City	Fifth City	Georgetown	Greeley	Haight-Ashbury	Holland	Syracuse	Ute	West 80th	AVERAGE	Berkeley	Family Day	Kentucky	Mecklenburg	Neighborhood	N.R.O.	Springfield	AVERAGE
	AMAL	AMER	AVCO	CASP	CENT	5TH	GEO	GREE	H-A	HOLL	SYRA	UTE	W80		BERK	FAM	KENT	MECK	NEIGH	N.R.O.	SPRI	
A. Summary Data																						
Cost per Child/Hour	$1.42	$.59	$1.08	$.62	$1.18	$.75	$1.38	$.89	$1.71	$1.37	$2.06	$1.59	$1.90	$1.27	$1.93	$.92	$1.37	$.83	$.57	$.58	$1.12	$1.05
Cost per Child/Year	$2925	$1295	$2453	$1438	$2442	$1301	$2933	$1445	$3295	$2590	$3517	$3604	$4147	$2614	$3053	$2287	$2663	$2036	$1176	$1590	$2191	2131
Percent Budget for Personnel	81%	65%	62%	81%	79%	76%	75%	81%	81%	70%	77%	78%	73%	75.5%	83%	75%	72%	77%	71%	80%	75%	76%
B. Sources of Revenue																						
Federal					55%				54%	14%	88%	67%		21%	6%		80%	59%		80%		32%
State and Local			21%	5%	20%			44%	14%	62%			10%	18%	85%	80%		20%	68%	8%	5%	33%
Parent Fees		100%	30%	27%			22%						5%	14%	6%			1%	10%		45%	9%
Other	98%			15%		36%	53%	5%	8%	3%	10%			18%	2%				19%		35%	8%
In-Kind	2%		49%	53%	25%	64%	25%	51%	24%	21%	2%	33%	25%	29%	1%	20%	20%	21%	3%	12%	12%	13%
C. Total Budget ($1000's)	158	133.4	65	110.7	134.3	256.2	30.8	54.9	206.4	170.9	323.6 (1)	78.5	168 (2)	139.	821.9	8163.	1217.	486	1008.	341.2	2323	1307.
D. Expenditures																						
Teaching & Child Care	56%	48%	52%	46%	43%	69%	70%	35%	45%	47%	37%	39%	54%	50%	52%	39%	26%	49%	40%	44%	44%	42%
Administration	14%	23%	15%	24%	16%	11%	9%	27%	16%	8%	17%	19%	11%	16%	26%	27%	16%	23%	22%	16%	20%	22%
Feeding	10%	11%	9%	13%	6%	9%	10%	11%	12%	15%	6%	19%	7%	11%	7%	23%	10%	14%	14%	15%	11%	13%
Health	4%	0%	2%	1%	8%	1%	0%	9%	7%	4%	3%	14%	3%	4%	1%	3%	1%	1%	2%	6%	1%	2%
Occupancy	16%	18%	22%	14%	11%	10%	11%	12%	12%	14%	9%	9%	12%	13%	9%	3%	10%	12%	19%	12%	19%	12%
Other: *Transportation, Social Services, etc.*	0%	0%	0%	0%	14%	0%	0%	6%	7%	12%	20%	0%	13%	6%	3%	5%	37%	2%	3%	5%	5%	9%

(2) 155.5 excluding Growth Costs

Source: A Study in Child Care, 1970-71, Abt Associates, Inc., April, 1971, vol. I, Table IV, p. 20.

CHAPTER NINE

THE ROLE OF STATE GOVERNMENT

We have examined the central role which families should have in child rearing and the kinds and quantity of child care and early education needed to support families. We have looked at different kinds of programs for young children and have examined the role of kindergarten with the first years of primary school. We have reviewed staff development needs and some problems of evaluation of children and children's programs, and we have analyzed the costs of such programs.

Our final task is to examine the current role of state government in meeting the needs of young children and to recommend ways to increase its effectiveness.

Changes in the structures of government are beginning to occur in response to the public's needs for adequate early childhood care and educational services. At the federal level we see the creation of the federal Office for Child Development, the establishment of guidelines for federally-funded programs, the solicitation of a large number of comprehensive research studies of the nation's day care needs and priorities, and the initiation of several legislative proposals seeking substantially increased program funding.

To date, however, not enough attention has been paid to the structure of services for young children at the state level. Since state governments profoundly influence the nature of local services and programs, it is important to consider ways to improve the effectiveness of state government's role in programs for children. Our analysis is based on data gathered throughout the Commonwealth, mainly from primary sources--interviews, questionnaires and agency documents--since very little published information was available.

The structure and political issues involved in providing child care support for families and children are complex and controversial. Many people have strong opinions about the way children should be cared for. We have not sought simple solutions to these problems and we do not expect our recommendations to be universally accepted or simple to implement. We have recommended what we believe are important incremental steps, currently attainable within existing political and fiscal constraints, needed to improve the capacity of state government to respond to pressing child care needs.

I. CURRENT ROLES OF MASSACHUSETTS GOVERNMENT IN EARLY CHILDHOOD CARE AND EDUCATION

Part I of this chapter focuses on the current structures and services of Massachusetts government in the early childhood field. Since recommendations for future change must be based in part on analysis of the current situation, this section analyzes factual data and agency role descriptions to provide a base for subsequent recommendations for change.

The information included in this section represents a distillation of numerous interviews with agency personnel and intra-agency reports and records.[1] Data deriving from different sources occasionally conflicted; however, to our knowledge, this compilation represents the most accurate survey of the current pattern of state services presently available.

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[1] Interviews were conducted with representatives of the following agencies: Office of Planning and Program Coordination; Departments of Education (Title I, School Lunch, Title III), Public Health, Public Welfare, Public Safety, Mental Health, Community Affairs; Federal Regional Office of Child Development. Questionnaires were completed by most of these agencies, often accompanied by other written materials; where appropriate, reference will be made to specific documents. In addition, information was provided from interviews conducted by other persons with representatives of the following agencies: Department of Education (Kindergarten, Vocational Education), Board of Higher Education, Comprehensive Area Manpower Planning System, federal Office of Child Development.

Numerous references will be made to public agencies functioning at both the federal and local levels: this is necessitated by the diverse and interlocking nature of early childhood services as they are currently organized. Indeed, it would appear that the federal government has played an increasingly significant role in shaping state policies,[1] particularly among the social welfare agencies which have been primarily responsible in the past for the development of preschool children's services.[2] However, since this paper addresses the role of the state, the activities of agencies at federal and local levels will be discussed from that point of reference.

The present roles of state agencies which have both direct and advisory responsibilities for early childhood services in Massachusetts are described below. Their roles are described in the context of a set of eight specific functions which appear adequately to represent the current range of activities of agency personnel.[3] Although substantial alterations in their structure and delivery will subsequently be recommended, it will be seen later that the range of these functions appears to provide a fairly adequate framework for describing needed future services.

Two important qualifications must be made at the outset. First, it must be emphasized that these functions do not necessarily correspond directly to actual agency commitments or even to their stated objectives. In some cases, the functions describe services that are provided on an informal, ad hoc basis, rather than as the result of conscious agency policy. A central issue to be addressed in the next section will be the significance of the actual pattern of agency services--which services receive priority, and why.

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[1] Jane Perry Clark, The Rise of A New Federalism (New York: Russell and Russell, 1965), pp. 1-11.

[2] Thomas R. Dye, Politics, Economics and the Public (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1966), pp. 117-123.

[3] Although these functions were primarily derived from observations of current practice, two readings were of value: Edna Hughes, "State and Municipal Regulation of Day Care Facilities," mimeographed, 1970; Education Commission for the States, "Early Childhood Development: Alternatives for Program Implementation in the States," Draft No. 3 (March 1971), pp. 25-26.

Second, only those activities have been included as functions which are intended to provide actual assistance to the field--to programs, program personnel, the general public, or other agencies. Intra-agency activities which may relate primarily to what have been termed "maintenance," and growth objectives of the agency itself are not of primary concern at this stage, although they are likely to shape significantly the constraints on future governmental action.

A. Agency Program Functions

The first four functions described below all have one element in common: they entail some form of direct involvement with ongoing programs for children at the local level. Consequently, they are termed "program functions." The first of these program functions--licensing--is a regular function of state government, while the latter three--program responsibility, consultation, and monitoring--theoretically provide actual services to programs. There is considerable overlap among these functions as they are actually provided by state agencies.

Licensing

Licensing is the process by which the state permits and regulates the operation of programs which meet minimum quality standards. There are two state agencies currently involved, eighteen state professionals chiefly providing this function; and 1050 licensed institutions serving approximately 37,183 children.[1]

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[1] Figures for 1968-1969, reported by Gwen Morgan.

Legislation has mandated the participation of three state agencies in the licensing process.[1] The Department of Public Health (DPH) currently licenses all nonpublic "day care services" of institutions serving three or more children not of common parentage under seven years of age (group day care). However, 57 per cent of currently licensed institutions receive their license from municipal health units which are delegated by DPH to do so. Four regional DPH offices are responsible for coordinating local licensors.

It should be noted that, in 1971, in a series of public regional meetings concerning child care around the state, child care providers frequently mentioned their preference for professional licensors from the DPH to local licensors. Apparently licensors who specialize in child care programs tend to be more knowledgeable about requirements and more supportive of the applicant than local health officials for whom child care is not a major interest.

The Department of Public Welfare (DPW) licenses all family day care programs which serve fewer than three children not of common parentage or over age seven. However ,the DPH also licenses family day care if there are three or more children, applying to such programs the same rules and regulations, including safety codes, applied to group day care programs. Legislation has been proposed which would define family day care as six or fewer children and which would establish regular building occupancy safety codes for such programs.

The Department of Public Safety (DPS) establishes and regulates facility standards for all day care programs. This authority is delegated to local building inspectors in approximately 60 per cent of the state's municipalities. Often at the local level additional building regulations and zoning restrictions are applied by local officials.

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[1] Massachusetts is quite unusual in this regard. Only two other states delegate the licensing responsibility to more than one agency; state welfare agencies are solely responsible in forty-two states. Source: Edna Hughes, "State and Municipal Regulations of Day Care Facilities."

Program Responsibility

The state assumes various forms of administrative control over total programs or aspects of programs funded with public monies. There are seven state agencies, approximately 88,000 preschool children; funding from at least thirteen federal programs, and five state programs, in addition to local and private sources.

The Department of Education (DOE) reimburses local school districts for kindergarten and insures that state-approved standards are maintained. In addition, in 1970, six Title III programs focused on the kindergarten level. There were also ten Preschool Title I programs and seven Vocational Educational Act day care projects. An undetermined number of preschool children were enrolled in special education classes, funded in part by Title VI, ESEA. The Department also reimburses school districts for certain prekindergarten services, but this provision has been largely ignored since World War II[1] because the amount of the reimbursement is not an adequate incentive.

The Division of Mental Retardation, Department of Mental Health (DMH), operates one hundred state-funded clinical nursery schools for retarded children. The substate area Retardation Administrators exercise primary supervisory responsibility over these programs.[2]

DPW contracts with day care programs (both family and group) to provide child care for AFDC recipient families. Children whose mothers are enrolled in job training programs receive top priority for the limited funds which are made available. Seventy-five per cent of costs are reimbursible to the state from the federal government through Title IV.a, Social Security Act.[1]

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[1] Authorized under the Extended School Services Act, 1944. At one point, the state reimbursed 40 per cent of nursery school costs. Source: National Society for the Study of Education, Early Childhood Education, Vol. XXXXVI, Part II (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1947), p. 50.

[2] Described in unpublished report by Dennis Keane, "Clinical Nursery Program in Massachusetts," Boston, Mass., 1969.

The Department of Community Affairs (DCA) must approve all Head Start programs; it shares this "authorizing" power with the federal Regional Office of Child Development.

DPH administers three experimental programs: one for preschool, hard-of-hearing children; one for preschool, handicapped children; a pilot day care program including infant care in Boston's South End.

The Massachusetts Commission for the Blind does not itself run programs for preschool children, but does provide counseling and placement services for blind children in this age group.

The Division of Employment Security (DES) provides, in cooperation with DPW, job placement for AFDC mothers in job training programs, particularly the Work Incentive Program (WIN); the Welfare Department, as discussed earlier, contracts with programs for child care for these mothers' preschool children.

Program Consultation

The state provides technical and programmatic assistance to ongoing program personnel. Five agencies provide some degree of consultation, twenty professionals chiefly serving this function; areas include: health, nutrition, education, child rearing, training, and program development.

The Health Department offers some consultative assistance to day care programs licensed by DPH; in addition, DPH, through a subcontract from the federal

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[1] Title IVA of the Social Security Act provides unlimited reimbursement, at a ratio of 3:1 federal: state funds, for former, current and potential welfare recipients. Massachusetts has seriously underutilized this legislation and only in 1971 began seriously to expand services through the use of these funds.

Office of Child Development, provides interdisciplinary team consultation to Head Start programs. DOE, DMH, DPW and DCA all provide consultative services in some form to programs over which they have a share of administrative responsibility.

Program Monitoring

Program monitoring is the process by which funding agencies ensure responsible fiscal administration by local program operators.

All five agencies providing direct public funding to programs (DPH, DPW, DMH, DOE, DCA) indicate that they monitor the spending of these funds. In addition, it is reported that several of the federal agencies involved in funding also monitor both state agencies and some local programs. Since this function involves interpretation of fiscal guidelines--what money can be spent in what way for whom--it has a significant influence on local programs.

B. Agency Support Functions

The four remaining functions relate less to the specific needs of ongoing programs and more to statewide concerns and a broader "clientele", both professionals and the general public. These "support functions" are also shared in various ways by numerous individuals and agencies. However, to the degree that they are fulfilled by state agencies, they are often provided on a more informal basis than was the case with the first four functions.

New Program Development

The state provides technical and planning assistance to individuals and groups at the local level who desire to initiate new programs or services.

This is not a formalized role within any agency or group. However, interviewed representatives of DPH, DPW, DOE, and DMH have indicated that within their respective program categories they do provide such assistance. In addition, knowledgeable professionals in other state agencies informally advise interested groups. It is likely that local personnel also provide informal assistance of this nature. It would appear that few services are available to persons developing programs which are not within the jurisdiction of the "program" agencies.

Informational Services

The state provides informational assistance to parents and professionals regarding programs for child placement, opportunities for training and job referral, agency responsibilities and procedures, and developments in the early childhood field.

No single agency is responsible for these services, and few of these services are available. DPH and DPW maintain annual or monthly lists of programs that they have licensed or contracted for service; these lists, however, are available only on request through their own departmental offices. Other agencies (DOE, DMH, DCA) are required to maintain lists of programs for auditing and monitoring purposes but do not in general make these available in the field. In addition, it appears that several knowledgeable state and local officials provide substantial information--referral services by telephone on an individual-request basis.

Training and Education

State activity is also directed toward developing or providing in-service and academic opportunities for staff development.

The Board of Higher Education (BHE) maintains some information regarding opportunities for academic training in the state's public colleges and universities; however, this information is limited to the institutions' names and contact persons. No similar information is collected on the offerings of private institutions. A representative of the BHE has indicated that it lacks the necessary staff manpower to offer more extensive services.

A joint committee of officials of the Department of Education and Health offers a series of four training workshops for program operators (managers) each year. These workshops, supported with federal health funds, deal with various issues regarding the management of programs and their curricula. Another task force, an ad hoc subcommittee of the Governor's Advisory Committee, has made recommendations regarding staff development needs in the state.

Planning and Coordination

Agencies spend a significant part of their time on statewide resource planning and interagency coordination.

Several of the agencies interviewed indicated that planning is an integral part of their own operations. However, the only agency with a formal role for statewide planning is the Office of Planning and Program Coordination (OPPC) in the Executive Office for Administration and Finance. One professional serves in this role under contract at one dollar per year, with two support staff and a special project staff of seven professionals and one support staff.

There are as many as ten advisory committees connected with specific departments which perform early childhood functions. However, only two of these committees have mandates which are sufficiently broad to pertain to the scope of statewide services and needs. The Massachusetts Committee for Children and Youth (MCCY) was established in 1959 and created a subcommittee for day care in 1962. Among other activities, MCCY has sponsored several studies regarding early childhood needs and programs in Massachusetts.

Another committee, the Governor's Advisory Committee for Child Development (GAC), was established by the Governor in 1969. The Committee is comprised of (1) representatives of the thirteen state agencies involved with child care, (2) child care providers, and (3) consumers, or users, of child care. (The functions of twelve of the agencies have already been described. The one remaining agency, the Massachusetts Rehabilitation Commission, provides child care as a supportive service for employment of handicapped persons in rehabilitation training programs.)

The Governor's Advisory Committee, which has a broad mandate in the child development area, was established because of two developments at the federal level. It was created first to implement on the state and substate levels a proposed network of early childhood coordinating units called "4-C" (Community Coordinated Child Care). Second, it was created in anticipation of the passage of new federal legislation providing substantial new monies for child care programs. Although neither development has yet been realized nationally, the GAC has been functioning on a limited basis in Massachusetts. It has assisted local groups in organizing child care (4-C) committees and has approved petitions for the creation of local child care committees in seven of the proposed thirty-eight subregional areas. In addition, it has established a series of task forces on major child care issues and has attempted to provide a basis for coordination of the multiple sources of federal child care funds through the multiple state channels in which the funds trickle.

Mrs. Gwen Morgan is the Executive Secretary of the GAC; working out of OPPC she has been the major force in the functioning of this committee. However, there has been no legislative mandate and no financial support for this committee. Unless the Committee's functions are clearly defined and funded, its role will remain limited.

By way of summary, the functions of the thirteen agencies involved with child care are listed in Table 9-1 on the next page.

C. Analysis of Agency Functions

The Structure of State Services

Services are provided predominantly at the departmental level in Massachusetts. With the exception of one "planner" and two advisory committees at the executive level, virtually all state personnel providing early childhood services are located within central and regional departmental offices. Consequently, the various department commissioners are the final arbiters of policy and operational issues. Typically,

Table 9-1

Summary of Agency Functions

Agency	Licensing	Program Responsibility	Consultation	Monitoring	New Program Development	Information Service	Training and Education	Planning and Coordination
Health (DPH)	f	f	f	f	f	i	f	
Welfare (DPW)	f	f	f(1)	f	f(1)	i	i	
Public Safety (DPS)	f							
Mental Health (DMH)		f	f(1)	f	f(1)	i	i	
Education (DOE)		f	f(1)	f	f(1)	i	f	
DCA		f	f(1)	f	i	i	i	
MCCY						i		f
GAC						i		f
OPPC					i	i		f
Communities and Dev. (CAD)								
Ed. Higher Ed. (BHE)						f	f	
Dir.Empl.Sec.(DES)		f						
Rehab.Comm.(REC)								
Comm. for Blindness (CFB)		i				i		

f = formal agency responsibility

i = informally provided by agency personnel

(1) = limited to agency programs

however, most decisions are made within a subunit of the particular department. Policy decisions requiring involvement of key administrators are frequently delayed by the press of other matters given higher priority.

There is no uniform organization of state services provided at the regional and local levels. The delivery of early childhood services in the field is uneven and the practices of each agency vary widely. Despite efforts by the executive branch, with prodding from the federal government, to develop uniform substate service regions, the Administrative Bulletin No. 65, issued in 1969 requiring uniform substate regions for all state agencies, has not been implemented. Currently agencies have different geographical boundaries for their regions and have different numbers of regional offices. In many cases, there are no regional outlets and central agency officials communicate directly with the municipal counterparts.

At the departmental level, current services are severely fragmented among agencies. The functional descriptions in the prior section clearly indicate the extent to which similar services are provided by separate departments and agencies. The factors responsible for this fragmentation may be largely historical. Services and programs for young children were originally created to serve the needs of a host of separate clienteles--children of working mothers, handicapped children, retarded children, those from broken homes, and so forth. Consequently, the responsibility for providing these services was allocated to the several "appropriate" social agencies. These different mandates have been perpetuated and further strengthened through separate legislative and funding channels at both the state and federal levels. Auxiliary program services which have been added, such as technical assistance, other forms of consultation, and training, were created to meet the needs, not of the total range of programs for children, but rather of these separately administered and funded programs. There are currently over sixty different sources of federal assistance for children's services. Each responsible bureaucracy has developed its own response to what appear to be fairly similar needs.

Urie Bronfenbrenner, reviewing the currently fragmented governmental structure at all levels, describes the situation as follows:

> The needs of the child are parcelled out among a hopeless confusion of agencies with diverse objectives, conflicting jurisdictions, and imperfect channels of communication.[1]

The fragmentation of services among the various agencies would not cause as much concern if they were effectively integrated in some fashion. However, this is not the case. The two statewide committees appointed by the governor are solely advisory in nature, have no formal relationship to the operational departments and have virtually no communication with each other. The proposed statewide 4-C network would in theory provide coordination at the subregional level, but largely because of the lack of strong financial and executive support this network has not been developed. The federal government is currently reviewing the entire problem of the delivery of services, the state's role and the 4-C structure. Thus, without strong executive support the future of the 4-C structure is uncertain.

The effects of this kind of fragmentation of services upon the delivery of services is predictable. No one agency feels major responsibility for children's services. Despite repeated examples of individuals within agencies doing their best to establish a priority for children within their particular agency, children's services consistently receive low priority. There is no clear point of accountability.

This fragmentation and lack of accountability both reflects the lack of a politically effective lobby for children and tends to inhibit the development of such a lobby. There is often more competition for the few available resources than cooperation in getting more. This problem is not unique to Massachusetts; it has plagued the early childhood field nationally as well.

Until very recently there have been few mechanisms available within Massachusetts government to coordinate effectively any related or parallel functions of the various departments or even the departments themselves. Prior to the establishment of cabinet form of government the heads of 176 district agencies reported directly to the governor.[1] The cabinet form of government should provide new mechanisms for accountability and coordination. The possible role these new developments might play in improving the organization and allocation of state early childhood resources is discussed more fully in Part II of the chapter.

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[1] Two Worlds of Childhood, US and USSR (New York: Russell Sage, 1970), pp. 163-164.

The Delivery of State Services

We turn now to the apparent effects of the fragmentation of state effort among these agencies on the delivery of specific services at the local level. The distinction drawn earlier between program and support services will be utilized here as well.

Program services: licensing, program responsibility, consulting, monitoring. *The current fragmentation of services may represent a serious misallocation of public resources.* In general, it would appear that the current service system has a great deal of "wastage" within it. Three state-level departments with separate staffs are involved in licensing (DPW, DPH, OPS) and seven have personnel responsible for ongoing program services (DPH, DPW, DPS, DMH, DOE, DES, CFB). Each department is responsible for developing its own standards for services and its own delivery system, process activities which themselves are thus duplicated. It would appear that state government in particular cannot afford this kind of duplication of its personnel resources.

Ironically, this duplication of similar service responsibilities may result in a shortage of services actually delivered in the field. Most consultative services are provided by a particular department solely to those personnel whose programs are within its categorical "jurisdiction." However, a 1969 survey of program operators indicates that surprisingly little consultation was actually provided to them by state agencies.[1]

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[1] Basil J. F. Mott, "State Planning," in Samuel H. Beer and Richard E. Barringer, eds., The State and the Poor (Cambridge, Mass.: Winthrop Publishers, Inc., 1970), pp. 94-95.

It is likely that the current system also prevents effective interagency consultation. Interviews with state agency personnel indicated a lack of success in exchanging consultation between agencies despite the existence in other departments of personnel whose expertise would potentially be of great value.

The current fragmentation may discourage the development of effective coordination and programs at the local level. The multiplicity of state agencies providing services produces confusion and frustration at the local level, as individuals attempt to determine which agency and level of government is responsible for which service. When added to the array of existing restrictive guidelines on federal categorical programs, it severely constrains program development at the local level, particularly with regard to attempt to coordinate local programs and to use multiple funding sources. One local program operator involved in an effort to coordinate childhood programs recently expressed this frustration, pointing out that as many as five separate monitoring agents, both state and federal, require separate, sometimes noncomparable, recordkeeping and reporting from local program officials. The same program and agency guidelines also inhibit monies from different funding categories from being spent in the same local program.

In the regional child care meetings held throughout the state in the summer of 1970, a concern mentioned frequently by local parents and child care providers was the fragmentation of state services and the lack of any single source of information and point of accountability.

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[1] Massachusetts Committee for Children and Youth, *Report of the Project on Day Care Licensing*, Boston, Mass., 1969, pp. 21-22; also Appendix, pp. 8-9.

The fragmented funding system represents a disservice to parents and children. Superficially, there appears to be a wide diversity of programs available to parents, at least in some parts of the state--Head Start, private schools, Title I preschool, day care, and the various special programs. However, this program diversity is not directly relevant to many individual consumers, since in most cases each program has specific clientele to service, often with other kinds of children explicitly prohibited from any kind of involvement.

Head Start, for example, is almost entirely limited to poor children. Since most other children cannot attend, even if their parents were to pay the full cost, the effect of the program is once again to segregate children by social class.

One consequence of the fragmentation, then, may be to have limited the options of individual parents.

Finally, the fragmentation of licensing responsibilities appears to have contributed to the underdevelopment of one type of care service, family day care. Currently, thousands of unlicensed (technically illegal) day care homes are in operation throughout Massachusetts. These homes are both unregulated and, perhaps more important, removed from the current system of state-provided services. A major deterrent has been the legal requirement for the Department of Public Safety to maintain facility standards for family day care homes comparable to group day care centers.

After several unsuccessful attempts to have the regulations changed, child care advocates turned to the Legislature for action. A bill was filed in the 1971 legislative session to establish public safety requirements for family day care (six or fewer children aged 0-6, not of common parentage) to be those for normal family occupancy.

It seems likely that some standards, less stringent than those required for a formal day care center but involving no undue risk for children, could be developed for family day care. For that to happen, however, there needs to be some body which has as primary responsibility the development of quality child care, and which is held publicly accountable for establishing appropriate standards and implementing them.

Under the current structure this has not happened. A similar story of confusion and delay can be related concerning the development of infant care standards which as of this writing still are not in effect.

Support services: new program development, information services, training and education, planning and coordination. *The current fragmentation discourages the development and delivery of statewide support services.* It has been shown that agency responsibilities generally correspond to the provision of direct services to ongoing programs limited to the jurisdictions of these agencies. No single agency has been provided or has itself created a sufficiently comprehensive mandate to include responsibility for these critical support services. This is not particularly surprising in light of the historical development of children's services sketched out earlier.

In the case of new program development and information services, to the extent that they are provided at all, services appear to result from informal action taken by concerned professionals at the state and local levels "beyond the call of duty", not as the result of agency policy. The same conclusion can be made regarding training and education since the resources provided have been inadequate.

Concerned local individuals desiring to create or adopt new programs find it extremely difficult to obtain information or other forms of technical assistance. Parents seeking information regarding those local programs and other care services which do exist and others seeking jobs or education training opportunites have no ready access to such referral information.

Among agencies with specific mandates for support services, inadequate resources are allocated. A substantial portion of the development of adequate professional training opportunities is within the mandate of the Board of Higher Education. However, no staff person is exclusively allocated to this function and it appears to be a minor concern to an understaffed agency saddled with a broad set of responsibilities.

The fact that the key early childhood planner on the staff of OPPC is serving in a voluntary capacity suggests that this function, too, receives a low priority.

In addition, as the following discussion will indicate, the current planning role is both too complex and too deficient structurally to be effectively filled by any single individual.

The current state structure for planning and coordination prevents adequate development of these services. It was suggested earlier that one structural barrier to effective coordination was the lack of a clear relationship between the two statewide advisory committees and the agencies with operational responsibilities. The same structural deficiency prevents effective planning. For example, one critical aspect of planning is the collection of information describing current levels of state services. However, no information system for planning currently exists. The OPPC planner and MEEP staff working together began to collect and analyze the relevant data, but a more systematic and permanent system is needed. Some agencies maintain more complete records than others; few of these records are maintained in comparable format; agency personnel tend to divulge relevant information only under duress or after time-consuming and persistent pursuit.

Conclusion

The Commonwealth of Massachusetts currently provides a wide range of limited services to program personnel and others involved in care and educational programs for young children. In addition, many different programs for children are currently operating in Massachusetts, although they do not exist in sufficient quantity to meet statewide needs. The majority of programs for children--particularly those receiving public support--were created for the benefit of specific clienteles among parents and children. As a result the bulk of early childhood services provided by the state have been "program-specific" and consequently have been developed and allocated through an array of different state agencies. These agencies develop and provide often similar services independently from one another, and subject to no overall coordination or extensive planning.

It is difficult to determine how constructive this fragmentation of state responsibilities may have been in the past. However, the system is seriously dysfunctional today and will be even more so in the future, particularly since the public is developing an increased commitment to care and educational programs for all of its young children, not solely for specific subpopulations. The major dysfunctions in the present system appear to be the following:

- Early childhood resources are misallocated, as the result of duplication and lack of effective coordination at the central level.
- Critical support services not directly related to ongoing program operation are generally not provided, owing to the "program-specific" character of the existing system.
- Local efforts to develop new programs or to coordinate existing programs are severely handicapped by the current fragmentation of responsibilities at the state (and federal) level.
- No effective mechanisms for statewide planning or coordination of early childhood services have been utilized, although a large proportion of available professional energies are taken up in negotiating between groups with overlapping interests and mandates.

In addition, it was hypothesized that the current system, lacking any major agency which has young children as its primary concern, reflects a history of ineffective political action on behalf of young children. The development of support for all young children has not been a political priority. As the demand for more and better services leads to more effective efforts by the public one can expect services for children to become increasingly supported. In the meantime, a rare opportunity exists for state government to establish an effective and accountable structure for children's services that will anticipate future demand and be capable of becoming responsible to the greatly increasing needs of children and families. Part II presents MEEP's recommendations for such a structure.

II. FUTURE ROLES OF MASSACHUSETTS GOVERNMENT IN CHILD CARE AND EDUCATION

At some future date the present period of heightened concern for early childhood may be perceived as a time of major transition regarding governmental services for young children. In any event, the current structure of Massachusetts services reflects the assumptions of the past more than those which are to shape the future.

The purpose of the second part of this paper is to address the future in developing a set of recommendations for state government child development services in Massachusetts. First, a series of general guidelines will be presented and discussed; they are intended to serve as overall principles for future action.

Second, one specific plan for restructuring Massachusetts services will be discussed in some detail. It proposes substantial improvements in the Massachusetts structure while recognizing current political and fiscal constraints.

A. The Responsibilities of State Government

In earlier chapters we proposed some basic policies regarding children and their rights which should be restated at this point:

1. Every child has an inalienable, natural right to a living arrangement which provides not only for his physical needs but also for an accepting, responsive and stable setting in which to grow.

2. The family is normally the desired structure for meeting the basic needs of children in our society.

3. There is no one correct way to raise children and government should encourage and facilitate the development of a maximum amount of diversity in child care arrangements, providing the basic needs of the child are met.

4. Innovative family patterns which may be responsive to children's needs, including efforts to reduce the isolation of families and to facilitate changes in family roles, should be supported.

5. In order to meet the basic needs of each child, it is the responsibility of government to assist families by providing:

a. support to families as the primary setting for child care;

b. supplementary child care for those families who need it;

c. alternative family, and family-like arrangements for those children whose basic needs are not being met by their family.

The implications of accepting such a set of policies are substantial and should be thought through carefully. The notion that a child has an inalienable natural right to an environment that enables him to thrive has not generally been accepted. Not long ago children were commonly seen as the chattel or property of parents, with no basic rights of their own. Changes in these attitudes have been developing slowly. Only in the last hundred years have we asserted that all children must attend some school, regardless of their parents' wishes. Child labor laws designed to protect children from exploitation by businesses are a product of this century. Only in the last few years have we had adequate child abuse laws and these are still poorly enforced today. We are now on the verge of establishing the legal right of retarded and mentally defective children to appropriate educational opportunities.

We believe that the policies we have suggested should now be explicitly established in this society. The implications of such a policy for the role of government, however, are substantial.

With a total of 683,000 children in Massachusetts aged 0-6, perhaps 90 per cent of whom would use part-time or full-time care in the 1970s, at an estimated cost of $800-$1,000 worth of resources per child for part-time care and $2,000 per child for full-time care, the total investment in child care for this age group would be between $800 and $900 million a year. These needed resources would not all be in the form of money. Donations and volunteer services should account for 25 per cent of these resources, and parent fees and support from private agencies and organizations should account for another 25 per cent of these resources. Even so, federal, state and local governments would have to provide some $400-$450 million annually for recurrent operational costs alone. This would not include the costs of state support services or construction costs.

Thus, in order to implement the policies outlined above, the cost at the federal, state and local levels will be substantial over time. (A more detailed analysis of costs and sources of funds for these services is presented in Chapter Eight.) In our judgment the needs for child care are such that it is only a matter of time before the public demand becomes sufficiently organized, and felt as an effective political force, for it to lead to the development of services of the magnitude described in this report.

It is apparent that effective political activity on behalf of child care and children's services is just now beginning to be recognized by a large number of elected officials. Now is the time for the establishment of the basic infrastructure of support and facilitation needed in order for services for children to be able to develop soundly over the next decade.

It should be plain that the demand for child care is not just one more well-intended, liberal call for a bigger welfare state. The demand is based on fundamental, long-term changes in the functioning of the society, the composition of the labor force, the roles of women and men, changes in family life. Forceful economic and political realities underlie the marked rise in demand for child care services. They will not go away; rather, they are on the rise and will bring with them even greater effects than we now see.

It is, therefore, crucial that we, at this time before the inevitable pressure overwhelms us, radically improve our capacity to respond to the needs of families and children. Such an investment should provide a base for sound long-term development and should assist individuals and local groups to develop services responsive to their own changing needs.

B. Constraints on State Government Involvement in Child Care

We recognize that the kinds of services envisioned by this report will not be provided immediately. Many constraints upon state government make it difficult to develop such services immediately.

Most important of these constraints is the fact that the advocates of improved child care services, including those who are in direct need of them, have not effectively made their case in the political arena. Consumers, providers, professionals, bureaucrats and legislators are all poorly organized for effective lobbying when it comes to children's services. A great deal of effort is spent in squabbling between groups. Despite a number of groups which could potentially become the focus of effective lobbying, none has emerged. New groups come and go regularly, but there is no continuity or accumulative thrust in the efforts to improve child care services.

A second difficulty is the fact that within state government there is no centrally accountable structure responsible for developing comprehensive children's services. Several groups, each wanting some if not all of the action, tend to cancel each other out, just as they do in the private sphere.

A third factor is that state government is in a serious fiscal pinch and new programs are not easy to establish, even with broad support. Lacking a clear public demand, it is easy to postpone the development of expensive child care services.

A fourth factor is that since the federal government appears continuously on the brink of doing something in the child care field, there is a tendency to wait and see what will happen at the federal level before moving at the state level, using the logic that whatever is done at the federal level may determine the state's roles and responsibility.

A fifth factor is the widespread reluctance, on the part of the public and their elected representatives, to include government deeply in areas that traditionally have been considered the private affairs of a citizen. Many feel that such involvement may be necessary in extreme cases of poverty, illness or abuse but should not become the norm of society.

C. Guidelines for Next Steps

Given the above goals and the constraints surrounding them, what is to be done now? Despite the difficulties, a great deal can be done now, given an increasingly active public and an enlightened body of elected officials and administrative officers. The following are a few guidelines for such action.

Resources for New and Expanded Childhood Programs

In the near future it appears quite unlikely that Massachusetts tax revenues will prove to be a major source of new program funds allocated specifically to meet operational costs except for funds allocated for public schools. Meeting the demands of the present educational and welfare systems will itself be difficult. Barring major changes in the state tax program, it would appear that large amounts of state support for child care cannot be expected or reasonably demanded.

On the other hand, the federal government will very likely provide major new program funds in the near future. Congress passed major comprehensive child development legislation in 1971 (vetoed by Mr. Nixon). Several legislative bills, including the Nixon Administration's welfare reform proposal (Family Assistance Plan) are before the Congress in its 1972 session and approval of some kind of assistance seems probable. Indeed, it can be assumed that if significant new program monies become available, they will be federal funds.

It is unclear what impact future federal legislation will have on planning for the state's role. There is no consensus in Washington as to what mechanisms would be most desirable for allocating new funds. It has been suggested that the most likely funding arrangements will be from federal to local, at least with regard to the larger cities.[1] If this pattern becomes established, the potential "support" functions of state government will receive additional emphasis.

There are a number of essential state functions which will be required under any federal plan: licensing, consultation, planning and coordination, training, research and evaluation. No matter what delivery system for operational support is devised by the federal government, the state must be in a position to be responsive to federal initiatives and must not be forced to throw together a make-shift organization overnight to cope with the likely substantial increase in federal aid for children's programs. Hesitation and delay at the federal level provides the state with an opportunity to become better organized and more capable of utilizing federal assistance wisely when it does become available. It is quite possible to establish a framework and pattern of state-level functions which will be needed no matter what support the federal government provides, and at reasonable cost.

Modernization of Massachusetts Government

In Spring 1971, the first stage of a two-phased modernization plan for Massachusetts government was implemented.[2] During the first phase, all existing state agencies were brought within a cabinet structure composed of ten secretariats. During the second phase according to the plan, these secretariats will be reorganized internally along what are intended to be "functional" lines of authority and structure. Although the modernization plan is primarily directed toward change at the central state level, it is also hoped that all agency services provided through field offices will eventually be allocated within the recommended uniform system of regional and subregional areas.

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[1] Suggested during group interview with Mr. Wilbur Cohen, former Secretary, Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

[2] Though the Modernization program has traveled a bumpy path since its enactment into law, it is assumed that the major aspects of the plan will be adopted over the next few years.

Proposals for changing governmental structures with regard to early childhood services should be made within this overall modernization plan. The following chart indicates the locations of state agencies currently represented on the Governor's Advisory Council in the new cabinet system.

MASSACHUSETTS MODERNIZATION PLANS

(State Reorganization)

Cabinet Secretaries*

I	II	III	IV	VIII
Human Services	Communities and Devel.	Education	Manpower Affairs	Public Safety
Public Health	Commerce & Devel.	DE	DES	DPS
MCCY		BHE		
Public Welfare	DCA			
DMH				
Rehab. Com.				
Com. for the Blind				

*The Secretariats of Transportation and Construction, Environmental Affairs, Consumer Affairs and Aging (V, VI, VII, IX) have no agencies represented on GAC.

The future role of OPPC, the final agency represented on the GAC, appears to be uncertain at this time. It has had major responsibility for designing the state reorganization; however, according to their design, planning staffs will be established in each of the secretariats.

Increased Program Responsibility Should be Exercised at the Local Community and Program Levels

We are focusing here on the role of state government in providing early childhood services. However, it must be emphasized that the state is only one of the actors--perhaps ideally only a supporting actor--in the delivery of these services. Most decisions regarding the aims, content and clientele of programs should be made in the communities served by the actual programs.

It should be pointed out, however, that there is not presently, nor should there be in the future, any single vehicle for decision-making at the local level. Public school kindergartens are under the traditional jurisdiction of local school committees; however, the wide array of other programs--private nurseries, Head Start programs, day care centers, family day care services, and publicly supported programs for special populations (handicapped, retarded, blind, deaf)--all maintain somewhat differing processes for decision-making and review.[1] This pattern of program diversification, if sensitive to local needs, would appear to hold great future potential: Unlike the consensus-oriented decision-making process in local school districts, there is potential in this diversity for developing significant program options for the individual parent and child.[2]

Attention must also be given, however, to the community-wide pattern of services, in addition to the specific needs of ongoing programs, to insure that local needs are being met. In theory, the 4-C concept discussed earlier would provide one such form of community planning in thirty-eight substate areas, although this concept has yet to be adequately tested or supported in the field.

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[1] This pattern of local program diversification appears to hold nationwide. Source: Ellis D. Evans, Contemporary Influences in Early Childhood Education (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971), Introduction.

[2] Certain negative consequences of a takeover of early childhood programs by local school districts are discussed in Marvin Lazerson, "Social Reform and Childhood Education," Urban Education 5, no. 1 (April 1970): 95-100.

There is a clear need, however, for encouraging the development of vehicles at the local level which first would identify and specify currently unmet community needs for programs and services and then inform and persuade the appropriate state and federal program agencies of the importance of helping to meet these needs. At the state (and federal) level, ways must be found to loosen rigid program funding guidelines which unnecessarily restrict the options of local program coordinators and planners.

Massachusetts Government Should Develop A Client-Centered Rather Than Need-Centered Approach to Early Childhood Services

One of the primary characteristics of current state services for children is that they are divided along types of specialized services: health, mental health, welfare, education, etc. Depending upon the particular need a child is sent to one or another agency for help. This kind of need-specific approach is not satisfactory for early childhood services.

Children from different backgrounds and socioeconomic groups should have opportunities to be together and learn to know and understand each other. This is not only good social policy, but it is also what most parents in the state want. So long as it is good care, most parents want their children to have contact with other children from different backgrounds.

There is growing consensus that children with special needs can often be effectively served in regular settings with other children rather than separated into special classes or institutions. Again specialized care may be necessary but the objective should be to keep different kinds of children mixed together rather than separated. Programs which in the past have separated out the "handicapped" or the "disadvantaged" for special treatment have often had the effect of widening the distance between these persons and others even more, creating an even deeper and more permanent alienation than would have been the case with no special program. There is today a general move toward more individualized care for all children, for the notion that every child has special needs and for the notion that it is important to be familiar with and supportive of wide differences among us. Properly organized, there is no reason why most blind, deaf, retarded, and emotionally disturbed children should not spend major portions of the time they spend under formal supervision in child care programs with other children who do not have these special needs. Likewise, there is little justification for keeping poor children in separate "compensatory" programs isolated from children of other backgrounds, especially since mixing seems to be related positively to school achievement.[1]

Massachusetts Government Should Develop A Capacity to Provide Statewide, Early Childhood "Supportive Services"

The prior analysis of the pattern of existing services in Massachusetts indicated that responsible state agencies have allocated most of their resources to the administration and support of ongoing programs for children. This system was seen to be particularly deficient in providing what were termed "support" services, new program development, information, training and education, and planning. In addition, it appeared that ongoing program consultation was weakened in a similar fashion, suffering from duplication among departments and its "program-specific" focus within separate departments.

However, it appears that Massachusetts is now ready to develop more early childhood services in its communities. These same supportive services--providing technical assistance to new groups, referral assistance to parents and professionals, developing adequate training vehicles, and statewide planning--are the very services which are likely to be most needed.

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[1] See James S. Coleman et al., The Equality of Educational Opportunity (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1966).

As was suggested earlier, the current structure of governmental services appears to prevent these support services from being adequately provided; it is doubtful whether a mere shift in current agency policies would be sufficient to reverse--or even balance--their existing priorities. Structural reform as well as increased funding will be necessary to accomplish this end.

Massachusetts Government Should Strive to Reorganize Its Existing Service Into An Integrated System

The guidelines for future change proposed above essentially recommend new thrusts for Massachusetts government--strengthening the local community role, and developing state structures which have as their primary function early childhood services (support throughout the Commonwealth). This particular recommendation, on the other hand, suggests changes in the current pattern of existing agency services.

It was apparent in the prior analysis that the current structure of state agencies and their service delivery mechanisms does not really constitute what most observers would define as a "system".[1] For example, it was found that there are numerous duplications of roles and services and what constitute jurisdictional disputes; the planning and coordinating agencies are not formally related to the operating agencies; there are several different and unrelated methods for decentralizing services; there are a lack of incentives for interagency communication. Indeed, the history of governmental involvement in the field suggests that a comprehensive system was never planned and that even the growth of services within a particular agency was largely unplanned.

Not all existing services should be reorganized into one governmental unit, even if such an occurrence were politically feasible, but there are some principles by which state resources for early childhood services can be more effectively and responsibly organized and delivered.

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[1] Education Commission for the States, "Early Childhood Development," pp. 25-26.

Coordination of categorical programs should be strengthened at the state level. The diversity of children's programs existing at the community level should be balanced by effective local coordination. The same point must be made regarding the set of state agencies which currently (and are likely in the future to) share responsibilities for the allocation of state and federal categorical program funds, especially the Departments of Education (public kindergarten, Title I preschool), Public Welfare (contracting for program slots), and Mental Health (programs for the retarded and emotionally disturbed). Currently, two governor-appointed committees share somewhat conflicting advisory mandates, and both are essentially removed from these operational agencies. The coordinating function should be both consolidated and strengthened by being brought into the actual system of services; a major thrust of such a coordinating unit would be to seek ways of developing interagency and interprogram coordination which would improve the decision-making role of local and state agency personnel.

Where appropriate, duplicated services and personnel should be consolidated. In addition to the coordination function, licensing and ongoing program consultation currently suffer from serious overlap, with three and five agencies, respectively, sharing these responsibilities. To achieve a more efficient utilization of scarce resources and to clarify agency roles, these functions should be consolidated. On the other hand, those agencies which have developed consultative services to meet the unique needs of special subpopulations, such as handicapped and retarded children, should maintain these unique services. It should be repeated, however, that their services could be improved through more extensive interaction and, where feasible, integration with agencies serving "normal" children not only on the level of planning and coordination but on the individual program level as well.

Field services should be coordinated and should conform to a uniform system. If, as has been suggested, a major responsibility of state government is to provide support for local early childhood efforts, one key procedural problem is the delivery of these services. However, the prior analysis indicated that state agencies currently utilize numerous different and unrelated vehicles for delivery and dissemination purposes. There is a clear need to develop a regional system which could incorporate and coordinate both existing services and those which may be created in the future.

The planning function should be restructured to relate directly to operating units. Currently, as was pointed out earlier, the sole official responsible for statewide planning is, in effect, removed from the actual service system; consequently, data for planning is extremely difficult to obtain, and those agencies which should be most responsive to planning outcomes are under little obligation to so respond. If the planning role is to be viable, it must be incorporated into this service system. Since responsibilities for services may be shared at different governmental levels, the planning function must correspond to these different levels.

Parents and local community groups should be able to decide how to allocate resources available to them for children's services. A major conclusion of this report is that parents and local groups should be able to have meaningful options about the kinds of services to be developed for their children. Local coordination of resources is vitally important since it is only at that level that the multiple sources and types of resources needed in a healthy system of services for children can be brought together to meet the needs of individual children, parents and communities. We have not resolved the complicated issue of how to structure the coordination of children's services at the local level. It seems likely that different communities will evolve different solutions and it is abundantly clear that no one structure should be imposed upon local groups.

A central task of state government should be to assist responsive and representative local groups concerned with child care to become organized throughout the state. We do not recommend a single local coordinating structure at this time but suggest that the state support a diversity of local arrangements. In some communities the School Committee may appropriately assume responsibility for child care programs; in another, the City Council may establish a procedure; in other locations several communities may wish to band together as a coordinating group. The state's role at this time should be supportive of such developments provided they are clearly accountable to parents and responsibly reflect their needs.

It may be useful to briefly compare these guidelines with the characteristics of the current state system which were described in the first part of this chapter. In addition to structural characteristics, the eight service functions which provided the framework for the prior analysis are compared.

Function	Current	Proposed
Structure of Services	need-specific	age-specific
Delivery of Services	fragmented	coordinated
Program Services	major emphasis	deemphasized
licensing	shared by several agencies	consolidated
program responsibility	"	coordinated
consultation	"	largely consolidated
monitoring	"	coordinated
Support Services	largely not provided	major emphasis
new program dev.	informally provided	formal responsibility
information service	informally provided	formal responsibility
training and education	minimally provided by several agencies	consolidated, strengthened
planning and coordination	fragmented, disconnected	consolidated, connected to services

Summary. The basic objectives which seem important as goals for state services to children should be to:

- facilitate child care options for parents, within basic protective limits;
- involve parents in policy development at all levels of government;
- facilitate rather than inhibit family development;
- minimize administrative structure and cost, particularly at the federal, state and regional levels;
- encourage the effective utilization of existing and new resources for children from all government and private sources;
- provide basic state-level program and support services.

D. Organizational Options

Given the clear need and public support for improved child care services and given an agreed upon set of functions which are appropriate and feasible for the Commonwealth to undertake, the next step is the development of a workable delivery system. This is probably the most difficult part of our entire project and it has occupied more of our time than any other element. Our conclusions are nevertheless presented with some tentativeness.

Concern for structural reforms of early childhood services is not limited to Massachusetts. A number of state governments are examining this issue and a recent publication of the Education Commission of the States has reviewed some major options for structural change.[1]

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[1] Education Commission for the States, "Early Childhood Development Alternatives for Program Implementation in the States," Draft No. 3, March 1971, pp. 25-26.

There seems to us to be no single structural solution which is clearly "correct". A number of options seem feasible, and in the final analysis the choice of developing a particular delivery system will depend in part upon political, economic and bureaucratic considerations as well as what seems to be theoretically and structurally sound.

There are almost an unlimited number of structural options which could be considered, ranging from continuing the status quo to the establishment of an agency responsible for operating fully funded early education and child care programs for the children of all parents who would elect to use them. The former option would seem to be unwise from the point of view of public demand for improvements in child care services; the latter would be financially impossible given the current state of fiscal structure even though it would probably have support from much of the general public.

Furthermore, one basic assumption of this paper, which we feel is warranted, is that the federal government will soon provide substantial funds to subsidize the operational costs of child care and that the Commonwealth need not invest large amounts of its funds in paying for the operation of child care programs. Thus, it should not be necessary for state government to assume a major portion of the recurrent operational costs of child care. It does seem necessary, however, for the Commonwealth to fulfill certain state-level functions discussed earlier in order for Massachusetts to make fullest utilization of the federal, state, local, and private resources which are and will be available for child care.

The following summarizes a few of the structural options for meeting those responsibilities which we have considered:

Option 1

Consolidate functions within an existing Human Services Department (Public Health, Public Welfare, Mental Health) as a Bureau for Child Development, adding some (2) additional staff ($20,000); provide the Governor's Advisory Committee on Child Development some (3) staff for planning and coordination ($35,000). Total new cost: $55,000.

Advantages: It is simple, leaving current state structure basically unchanged. It provides a single location for child care licensing thus reducing confusion and frustration now experienced by child care providers. The Governor and Legislature are less susceptible to the charge of proliferating the bureaucracy and it involves considerably less cost than a new department. Much of this could be accomplished by administrative rather than legislative action.

Disadvantages: It seems unlikely that such an arrangement would be able to develop sufficient critical mass, visibility, and accountability to make significant improvements in children's services. This would essentially be a continuation of the past in which children's services repeatedly have been given low priority legislatively and administratively. We consider such an arrangement to be inadequate and an unacceptable response to the growing need for improved services to children.

Further, no existing department is appropriate as the focal point for children's services. The Departments of Public Welfare, Public Health, and Mental Health are three logical candidates to be given overall responsibility for children's services. Mental Health increasingly is defining the total population as its client group under the framework of preventive community mental health. The Department of Public Health currently licenses group child care and has a core staff of child care professionals. The Department of Welfare purchases considerable child care and is responsible for family day care. Yet for none of these departments are services to children likely to have sustained high priority. In addition, each department brings a specialized professional perspective to its work which centers around the elimination of problems rather than the creation of settings in which children can thrive. It is the latter perspective which should be dominant in children's services rather than any particular professional viewpoint.

Option 2

Temporarily consolidate licensing in the Department of Public Health with some (2) additional staff ($20,000). Provide fiscal and legislative support for the Governor's Advisory Committee on Child Development and give it responsibility for coordinating state child care services. Expand OPPC staff to include minimal regional technical assistance to local groups, emphasizing planning and coordination (Central: $35,000; Regional: $240,000). Total new cost: $295,000.

> Advantages: Consolidates licensing, increases planning and coordination and provides limited technical assistance to local groups facilitating local child development groups in their planning.

> Disadvantages: Inadequate licensing staff; administrative separation of licensing and technical assistance; locates semi-operational technical assistance staff in OPPC which should confine itself to statewide planning and coordination. Provides inadequate planning and technical assistance to local groups, no staff development and no research and development.

Option 3

Establish a new Department of Child Development in the Human Services secretariat consolidating licensing and the other four functions into one administrative unit, with an advisory council to advise on interagency policy. Establish eight Regional Child Development Offices, possibly associated with a teacher training or community college, to provide licensing, monitoring, technical assistance, planning assistance, coordination, research and development at the local level. (Central: $375,000; Regional: $925,000). Total new cost: $1,300,000.

> Advantages: Consolidates functional responsibility for wide range of supportive services into one administrative unit increasing

effectiveness and reducing duplication of services. Provides appropriate mix of interagency coordination and needed nonoperational services; enables state and local agencies to make maximally effective use of federal resources.

Disadvantages: Adds another bureaucratic unit to state government; requires transfer of services and personnel from existing departments in Human Services; creates potential conflicts with the Educational Affairs secretariat which may view child development and child care programs as its domain; adds to the cost of state government.

Despite some disadvantages, this option seems to be the best available. It is recommended and described in more detail below.

Option 4

Consolidates the functions in a new department as in Option 3 but within the Educational Affairs secretariat rather than Human Services. Total new cost: $1,300,000.

Advantages: This option is consistent with the notion that education should be concerned with human development "from the cradle to the grave." It provides continuity of child development services into the public school system and is likely to be characterized by an emphasis on normal and positive development rather than being oriented around notions of poverty and illness, which have a tendency to predominate in the Human Services departments.

Disadvantages: Adds a major new responsibility to the education sector which is already overburdened and understaffed for its current responsibilities; requires a shift of responsibility now administered within Human Services departments to a different secretariat; runs the risk of extending downward into the earlier years the current primary school curriculum.

This option merits serious consideration and is discussed in more detail below.

Option 5

Create an additional secretariat to function as in Option 3. Total new cost: $1,300,000.

Advantages: This would meet all the criteria for state structure; it could represent a major commitment to meet children's needs if it were adequately funded.

Disadvantages: A strong enough case for the importance of comprehensive children's services has not yet been made by the public and lacking a more effective demonstration of its importance, it is unlikely that the legislature would at this time create an additional secretariat funded at an appropriate level. Without adequate funds, it could give the superficial appearance of action with little improvement in services to children.

E. Recommended State Structure for Children and Families

For a state government more responsive to the needs of children and families we recommend that the Legislature:

- create a Department of Child Development in the Human Services Secretariat that shall be responsible for facilitating the local development of services for infants and preschool children through decentralized licensing and consultation teams;
- create a Council for Children which shall be responsible for reviewing programs, advising on government policies, including rules,

regulations and licensing standards concerning programs for infants and preschool children;

- assign to the Secretary of Educational Affairs responsibility for statewide planning and coordination of comprehensive programs to meet the full range of needs of school-age children;
- create an Interagency Coordinating Committee for Children and Families which shall be a body for statewide planning and coordination services concerning children and families and which shall annually report to the Legislature and the Governor.

A Department for Child Development

We recommend the establishment of a Department of Child Development to provide major governmental focus for early childhood services.

The Department should provide essential support services to assist parents and communities to meet their child care needs. It would emphasize the development, coordination and delivery of support services for persons at the local level through a network of regional offices.[1] The primary roles of the central staff would be to set statewide regulatory standards and to assist regional support efforts, subject to the review and leadership of the Council for Children. The success of the Department will depend in large measure on its ability to decentralize its services in such a way as to be responsive to local needs and to be publicly accountable to lay and professional review.

The major justification for a separate department has been detailed above. In order for children's services to receive the priority they deserve there must be an entity which is visible and held accountable for the development of services to young children. In the present situation, with services scattered thinly and in many different places, no one is accountable and there is no one place to go to get information or to push for the services which are needed. With consolidation, services can be provided with greater effectiveness than is possible with uncoordinated services from several agencies.

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[1] A strong case for the "support" role advocated here is made by Richard E. Barringer, "Epilogue: Poor and Priorities," in Beer and Barringer, The State and the Poor, p. 326.

A major child care goal for state government should be to facilitate initiative, responsibility and accountability for effective delivery of services at the local level where programs are actually operated.

Organization. It is recommended that a set of eight regional offices be established which would fulfill the major functions of the Department by facilitating the development of local child care services and in addition would coordinate the field services of other state agencies.

The jurisdictions of these eight offices would conform to the recommended uniform substate regions; the offices could conceivably be housed in local colleges and universities which provide training and education to early childhood personnel. Although the proposed system of eight regional offices is currently utilized solely by the Department of Mental Health, the regional systems of several of the other agencies roughly correspond to the same geographic and population boundaries, easing the logistics of coordination. It is recommended that all agencies involved in the provision of services for children adopt the uniform state region and area for their operations. This recommendation especially applies to Education, Public Health and Public Welfare since the Mental Health regions and areas already correspond with the Governor's executive order.[1]

Staffed initially by three child care specialists who together combine skill and knowledge of human development, public health, institutional and community organization, mental health, and work with young children, the regional offices would aid parents and local groups to determine their needs and the availability of resources, and would license child care programs.

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[1] Administrative Bulletin, No. 65, 1969.

Despite the best of intentions, bureaucracies appear to exhibit a tendency increasingly to centralize power and responsibility.[1] If the proposed department is to fulfill its mandate for focusing its services in the field, safeguards against unwarranted centralization must be developed.

Several such measures are built into this proposal. Higher levels of compensation should be established for field-related positions than for their counterparts in the central office. Lines of communication and authority should reflect the emphasis on field service and delivery. Adequate regional staff sizes should be established and maintained. Decisions regarding the specific allocation of funds for departmental support functions should be made at the regional offices; hence, lump sums earmarked for these services should be allocated to the regions.

Program decisions concerning the kinds of services to be provided, where, what hours, etc., should be made at the local level and not by state officials. The role of state officials, including those in the regional offices, should be supportive and facilitative, not controlling. State government should not attempt to operate services directly; there is ample evidence that it does not perform that function well.

However, it is imperative that state policies and activities serve to encourage and strengthen local efforts, helping parents and local groups to develop their own programs. One vehicle for such state support is exemplified by the 4-C network concept which would create subregional (area) coordinating committees similar in composition to the current GAC at the state level. It is possible that new federal legislation will provide for the development of other kinds of local coordinating committees. In the event that such local groups are established, officials of the Council for Children and the Department for Child Development should seek ways to strengthen their role, providing technical and informational assistance and delegating appropriate responsibilities for funding decisions if possible. The matter of how the state structure should relate to local area and regional organizations should be reviewed and monitored by the Council for Children.

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[1] Herbert A. Simon, "Decision Making and Administrative Organization," in Robert K. Merton et al., Reader in Bureaucracy (New York: Free Press of Glencoe /1963, c. 1952/), pp. 250-251.

Functions. The basic functions of the regional offices should be as follows:

. *Program development (licensing and program consultation)*. It is recommended that licensing and consultation be provided by professional child care staff at the regional level. There should be an active consultation group, separate from the licensing staff, which actively seeks out local groups needing help in establishing or improving child care services. The proposed staff levels would call for an individual case load averaging thirty child care programs.

It is recommended that the department consolidate the early childhood licensing function in Massachusetts, incorporating the current responsibilities shared by Public Health and Public Welfare. The Department for Child Development would have responsibility for establishing basic standards, subject to review and comment by the Council for Children. Licensing should be done by specially trained staff who spend a significant proportion of their work in child care licensing and consultation. Operators of child care programs have made it clear that they much prefer a state licensing official who knows child care thoroughly to a local official who knows very little about child care.

The consultation function is essential for the development of quality early childhood services in Massachusetts but it is not easily provided, owing to the diversity of program and other care services which are found in the state and to the fact that they are generally administered independently from one another. This proposal provides for the creation of a program development staff in each regional office which would offer on-site consultative services to local program personnel. In addition, the supplementary consultative services now provided by other agencies, particularly in the fields of nutrition and health, should be incorporated (if possible) into the regional DCD offices.

Alternatively, the appropriate personnel from these other agencies, with the DCD staff, could form an interdisciplinary consultative "team" whose activities are coordinated by the top regional Department for Child Development administrators. In the final analysis, the proof of effective coordination is whether or not effective integrated services are available at the level of the individual child and family.

. *Community organization (new program development).* It is recommended that one staff member in each regional office be responsible for providing technical assistance to groups and individuals at the local level to encourage the development of new programs and care services. The person charged with this task would require two related kinds of expertise: first, an informed view of the existing needs for services in the region's various communities, and second, an ability to provide and obtain sound technical and informational service to local groups. As local coordinating groups develop, this person would be particularly responsible for aiding these groups.

. *Education for child care (training and education).* One staff member in each region should be assigned responsibility for encouraging and assisting the development of local education and training "networks" to serve the needs of present and prospective early childhood personnel, including program professionals and paraprofessionals, and family day care operators. Such training would be both preservice and in-service. Included in these networks would be colleges, universities, manpower training programs, and appropriate services provided by other state agencies, notably the departments of Education and Public Health. In addition, this staff member would work particularly closely with regional units of the Cooperative Area Manpower Planning System, a federally funded effort to coordinate the use of public training funds in the state.

. *Information service.* There is a widespread need for information concerning child care, especially for information on funding sources and regulations. The regional office staffs would share responsibilities for providing effective information services to concerned individuals and groups in the field. These services would actually bridge several areas of regional staff functions outlined above. The following types of information would be included: listings of programs and other care services at the local level for parents; listings of available work opportunities, both paid and volunteer; early childhood training and educational programs for interested adults, both lay and professional; a guide describing early childhood state and regional resources, responsibilities, and procedures; information on available funds for child care; significant writings in the early childhood field. The central DCD staff should provide substantial assistance in rendering this service, to be discussed shortly. Methods of communication should include mailings to key groups, individuals, programs, and municipal agencies and telephone information service. In addition, local libraries should be used as an up-to-date source of local child care information.

The central office of the Department for Child Development would be organized into four functional units.

Planning and coordination. One unit in the central state office would be responsible for coordinating at the state level the operations of the department with all other state agencies providing related services. This unit would provide support for the staff of the Interagency Coordinating Committee for Children and Families. It would be responsible for coordinating state programs with the federal Regional Office of HEW and with all federal programs concerning children, through the Interagency Coordinating Committee for Children and Families. Second, they would provide appropriate planning services: regular status reports on the level of statewide services, anticipated new developments, unmet state needs, and alternative responses. To fulfill this latter role, effective information collection mechanisms must be established; other agencies should be legally required to submit periodic updated reports on the status of their early childhood services through the Interagency Coordinating Committee for Children and Families to the Legislature.

In effect, the planning and coordinating unit is a key staff arm of the top administration. Consequently, this staff would report directly to the highest administrator for central operations.

Licensing and consultation. This unit would serve primarily to support appropriate personnel at the regional level. Support activities of this nature would include: the interpretation of licensing standards and guidance regarding their enforcement; development of licensing guidelines for dissemination to the local level through the regional offices; guidance to program consultants, both through written materials and on-site visits. In addition, their unit would be responsible for collecting and interpreting licensing and consultation information from other levels and states for the Department and Council.

Education for child care (training and education). This unit would be responsible for providing statewide leadership regarding the development of adequate training and education services in the state. It would coordinate the provision of state-level training resources for field needs; it would obtain information regarding current training practices for dissemination to the field; it would be responsible for the training of all departmental staff. In addition, the unit would advise the Department and the Council on priorities for federal and state funding of training programs.

Information, research and development. The major responsibility of this unit will be to develop and maintain the information dissemination system so essential to the success of the proposed Department. Its staff will collect and process materials provided by the other central units and the regional offices. It will need to maintain particularly close communication with the regional offices to insure that the information services are meeting perceived needs; consequently it can play a vital role in communicating these developmental needs to other appropriate central units. In addition, if public funds can be obtained for such a purpose, this unit would also advise the Department and Council regarding needs and priorities for the evaluation of current early childhood programs.

The Council for Children

We recommend the creation of a Council for Children which will exercise strong advisory leadership over the review and evaluation of existing services for young children and the development of state-level child care policies.

Functions. The Council should serve in an advisory capacity regarding the total range of services for infants and preschool children, including recommendations concerning program priorities, coordination of services, and the development of systems for the delivery of child care services which are locally controlled and coordinated. The Council should develop procedures by which parents and local community groups can make decisions and recommendations regarding the allocation of funds for their children.

The Council should review and comment on state rules and regulations, including all licensing regulations, concerning child care. It should be responsible for reviewing and commenting on requirements for the certification of child care personnel to the extent that such certification is needed. In addition, it should annually review and advise on the management goals and policies for the operations of the Department for Child Development. It should not be responsible for approving the budget of the Department for Child Development but should be required to review and comment on that budget prior to its submission to the Legislature.

We recommend that the responsibility for approving rules and regulations and certification requirements be explicitly vested in the Commissioner for Child Development rather than with the Council for Children. Although it should be legally required for the Commissioner to present suggested rules and regulations to public meetings throughout the Commonwealth, to report to the Council for Children the results of such meetings, and to have the recommendations formally reviewed by the Council, the final responsibility for the regulations should rest with the Commissioner and he should be held publicly accountable for them.

The Council should supercede the Governor's Advisory Committee on Child Development, although the Council may wish to establish a larger advisory body similar to the Governor's Advisory Committee, representative of the interests of parents, providers of child care and relevant government agencies, which could meet periodically to assist in the planning and coordination of services.

The Council should report annually to the Governor and the Legislature on the status of services to young children in Massachusetts and should publish and widely disseminate its findings and recommendations.

Organization and membership. There should be nine members on the Council, appointed by the Governor, six of whom shall be parents of children aged six or less at the time of their appointment. Members should serve staggered three-year terms. The Council shall meet no fewer than six times each year and any member missing three regularly scheduled meetings over any twelve-month period should be terminated as a member automatically. Council members should receive no salary for their services but should be reimbursed for their direct expenses, including the cost of child care.

The Council shall have as staff one full-time assistant and one full-time secretary. Space and other support items should be provided through the Department for Child Development.

The Role of the Educational Affairs Secretariat

Having established the need for increased infant and preschool services, serious attention was given to determining the most appropriate secretariat for the Department. We considered Educational Affairs and Human Services to be the two most appropriate agencies.

Preschool services. In many ways, Educational Affairs is conceptually the most appropriate location for comprehensive services to little children, and we seriously considered recommending that Educational Affairs be given that responsibility. With infant and preschool services within Education, one agency would be responsible for educational and developmental services for all ages. The notion of providing continuing educational experiences from "the cradle to the grave" is an appealing and worthy goal.

Yet the Department of Education is seriously taxed in meeting its current responsibilities, and, given the real possibility that through court action or new legislation, the state may soon be required to assume substantially increased financing of local schools, it seems unlikely that the development of services for infants and preschool children could be given priority in the Department of Education over the next few years.

We have concluded that the Department of Education should concentrate its resources on increasing the effectiveness and comprehensiveness of services for children of school age. Beginning with kindergarten through secondary school, priorities should be given to exploring ways to increase the quality of existing programs, especially increasing their sensitivity to special needs of children. Integration of children of varying ages, backgrounds, and needs into common settings, combined with greater individualization of instruction is needed. Comprehensive services including after-school programs for children whose parents work full time, weekend summer programs, and programs which involve parents with their children, in and out of the school setting, should be expanded. These needs pose a massive task for the Department of Education and should be given priority over programs for preschool children.

This recommendation should not be understood to mean that individual school districts throughout the Commonwealth should not undertake early childhood programs. In those communities where such programs are seen to be of high priority and have the support of local citizens they may be quite appropriate. Such is the case in Brookline where a major experiment in early childhood education is underway.

Support for those schools which decide to develop preschool programs should be made available to them through the Department for Child Development.

We also seriously considered recommending that the Department for Child Development be established as a new and separate department in the Educational Affairs Secretariat, thus having in one agency the responsibility for programs serving little, middle-sized and big people.

The primary disadvantages of Educational Affairs as a location for such a new department are as follows. First, most of the resources for child care programs are now within the Human Services secretariat. It would be politically difficult to transfer funds and personnel from one secretariat to another. Second, given the other pressures upon education, it seems unlikely that, even with a separate department, services for preschool children would receive the kind of fiscal priority that is needed.

Third, as we have argued in earlier chapters, we believe it would be a serious mistake to extend didactic education downward to include four- and three-year-olds. Despite the theories and practices of individual educators, it is a fact of history that inclusion of kindergartens within the public education domain in Massachusetts during the nineteenth century narrowed the goals of the kindergarten year to a more didactic, preprimary emphasis.[1] We fear the name forces would affect the earlier years in a similar fashion, with other social and physical needs given less attention.

The alternative of placing the new department in Human Services seems to be a sounder option. The perspective of human services is broader than education and in many respects is closer to the kinds of services little children need.

We believe that it would be desirable to develop services for young children in that part of the state structure that sees its mission as more related to the total life experience, including health, nutrition, and family services, as well as education. In addition, most of the funds and personnel supporting these services are now within the Human Services area. Additional federal funds for child care are likely to come through Human Services and Manpower, not through Education.

The major danger of working within the Human Services framework is that the services may tend to be organized around the special needs of a small number of children. We feel it is extremely important for children's services to be organized within the framework of all children, not just those who are poor or who have other special needs.

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[1] M. Lazerson, Origins of the Urban School: Public Education in Massachusetts, 1870-1915 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1971), Ch. 2.

Thus we favor the Human Services option as a location for the new department provided that the mandate of the Department is clearly for all children and that the services provided are organized to be responsive to the different needs of all children and to the need for strong local involvement in planning and coordinating services. It is understood that in the initial stages, because of the scarcity of funds, priority may frequently go to children with special needs, not as segregated programs but in settings available to all children and within a broader commitment to serve the needs of all children.

Nevertheless, these issues are complex and we feel that placing the new department within the Educational Affairs Secretariat is a reasonable option which should be seriously considered.

School services. Little attention has been given in this report to the needs of children after their first few years of school. Yet the problems of school-age children are of major concern to parents and the public at large and the state needs to increase its capacity to respond to those needs.

Thus we recommend that the Governor, through the ICCCF, charge the Secretary of Educational Affairs with the responsibility of being the lead Secretary in the over-all state planning and coordination of services to school-age children. The Secretary should be charged with regularly convening representatives of the state agencies with major programs for school-age children, including the Departments of Youth Services, Mental Health, Public Health, as well as representatives from Education. The Secretary should be responsible for preparing an annual report through the Interagency Coordinating Committee for Children and Families (described below) to the Governor and Legislature, concerning the status, needs and priorities for comprehensive services for school-age children.

Interagency Coordinating Committee for Children and Families

Since it is not possible, and probably not desirable, to consolidate all services for children and families into one agency, there is a demonstrated need for improved government-wide planning and coordination of services concerning children of all ages. The division of services into preschool and school-age groups will improve matters somewhat. Still there remains a need for a broader planning and coordinating body which can provide an overall perspective concerning the state's programs for children and families.

We recommend that the Governor create by executive order an Interagency Coordinating Committee for Children and Families which shall be an administrative forum for statewide planning and coordination of services concerning children ages 0 to 17 and their families. The Chairman of the Committee should be the Secretary of Human Services and the Vice Chairman should be the Secretary of Educational Affairs. The Committee should include representatives from each agency of state government having major programs concerning children and their families, including Communities and Development, Manpower Affairs and Public Safety. This committee should require active coordination at the agency and local levels among all state agencies concerned with children.

The Committee should meet at least quarterly and should be required to prepare an annual program budget proposal which provides a functional description of the major current and proposed state services to children.

It is our understanding that the reorganization of the administrative side of state government into a cabinet structure was in large part for the purpose of being able to provide such comprehensive planning and coordination of services. This is a good time, and children's services seem like an excellent area, in which to demonstrate the potential of the new cabinet structure.

F. Implementation

Action by the state on the basis of these proposals would be strongly supported by the public. Our statewide survey, interviews with key legislators, and administrators, and the reactions from the Regional Child Care Meetings held in June and July, 1971, throughout the state[1] lead us to believe that there is increasingly strong support for a major expansion of child care services in Massachusetts.

The above recommendations have been developed with the context of current fiscal and political constraints which affect development and expansion of any kind of state program in Massachusetts. They provide for a modest but greatly needed improvement in the ability of state government to respond to the rapidly growing need for more and better child care services.

The recommendations limit the burden on state resources primarily to the provision of local support, regulatory, and coordinating services. The expectation is that funding for the continuing operation of child care programs will be drawn in the main from parent fees, voluntary contributions and federal sources. Several issues regarding implementation of our recommendations are discussed briefly below.

Cost of the Proposed Department[2]

We have included at the end of this chapter a preliminary budget proposal which reflects the size and functions of the Department for Child Development as described earlier. The total (incremental) annual cost for the proposed DCD approximates $1.3 million, basing personnel costs on what appear to be equivalent ratings in the current civil service register for Massachusetts. The cost of the regional services total $925,000, and of central office operations $375,000. A breakdown by type of expense is as follows:

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[1] See Appendix B for the Report to the Governor and the Senate President on the Regional Child Care Meetings held in June and July, 1971.

[2] See Organization chart and budget, p. 9-59ff.

Professional personnel	$802,000
Nonprofessional personnel	183,000
Support services and materials	315,000
	$1,300,000

Personnel Transfers

It is legally and politically difficult to transfer job slots or individuals from one agency to another in state government. Some such transfers, however, would be desirable for at least two reasons: first, it would constitute an efficient utilization of the existing state resources; second, it would provide the new department with a cadre of experienced professionals. According to our data, the following numbers of licensing and consulting personnel would be appropriate for transfers into the proposed Program Development units:

Agency	Personnel (Licensing and Consulting)
Public Health	13
Public Safety	1
Public Welfare	10
Community Affairs	1
	25

It should be stressed that these figures do not represent all personnel qualified to serve in the Department; several other agencies, including those mentioned above, employ many talented individuals who might conceivably be attracted to the new department.

Allocation of New Program Funds

This study has recommended that current state agency program responsibilities remain under the administrative jurisdiction of these units, allowing the Department for Child Development to focus its resources on providing coordination, regulatory and support services. However, if new federal legislation provides "day care" funds not restricted to the limited mandates of any of the existing agencies, and if the state government is allotted these funds for distribution, the Department and Council for Children should probably undertake the responsibility.

It is recommended, however, that the key decisions regarding the allocation of these funds be shared by personnel at the local and regional levels, according to the following general procedures: funding should be equitably allocated on a regional basis; where responsible local (area or community) coordinating agencies exist and have been so recognized by the Council; these agencies should develop proposals recommending local allocation of funds which would be reviewed by regional office personnel and submitted to the Council for Children for approval; where such agencies do not exist, prospective local grantees should submit proposals directly to their regional offices for review and subsequent action by the Council. Regional offices must be well-informed regarding local community needs if they are to discharge their duties responsibly.

Executive Action Needed

Our recommendations concerning state structure and the role of government, while not expensive, are extensive and will require time to be considered, amended and implemented. Many of the key recommendations will require joint executive and legislative action. However, some action can and should be taken by the Governor and his Cabinet immediately to facilitate more effective development of services for children.

The Governor should immediately create by executive order an Interagency Coordinating Committee for Child Development, chaired by the Secretary of Human Services, with the Secretary of Educational Affairs as Vice Chairman. The Human Services secretariat should be designated the lead agency in state government for services to infants and preschool children. The Education secretariat should be designated the lead agency in state government for services to school-age children. The Interagency Committee should be responsible for state-federal coordinating.

The Governor's Advisory Committee for Child Development should be transferred from the Office of Program Planning and Coordination to the Office of the Secretary of Human Services until such time as a reconstituted body, such as the proposed Council for Children, has been agreed upon and appointed.

Legislative Action Needed

The major recommendations concerning the organization of state government which we have made will require legislative action to change existing statutes and to provide the necessary funds.

The committees on Social Welfare and Education are considering proposed legislation in this area. They should be encouraged to develop a comprehensive bill concerning services for children rather than acting piecemeal on individual issues such as licensing.

We are encouraged by the bipartisan support for improving children's services which we have observed in the executive and legislative branches of state government, and we are hopeful that such support will be translated into action.

Public Action Needed

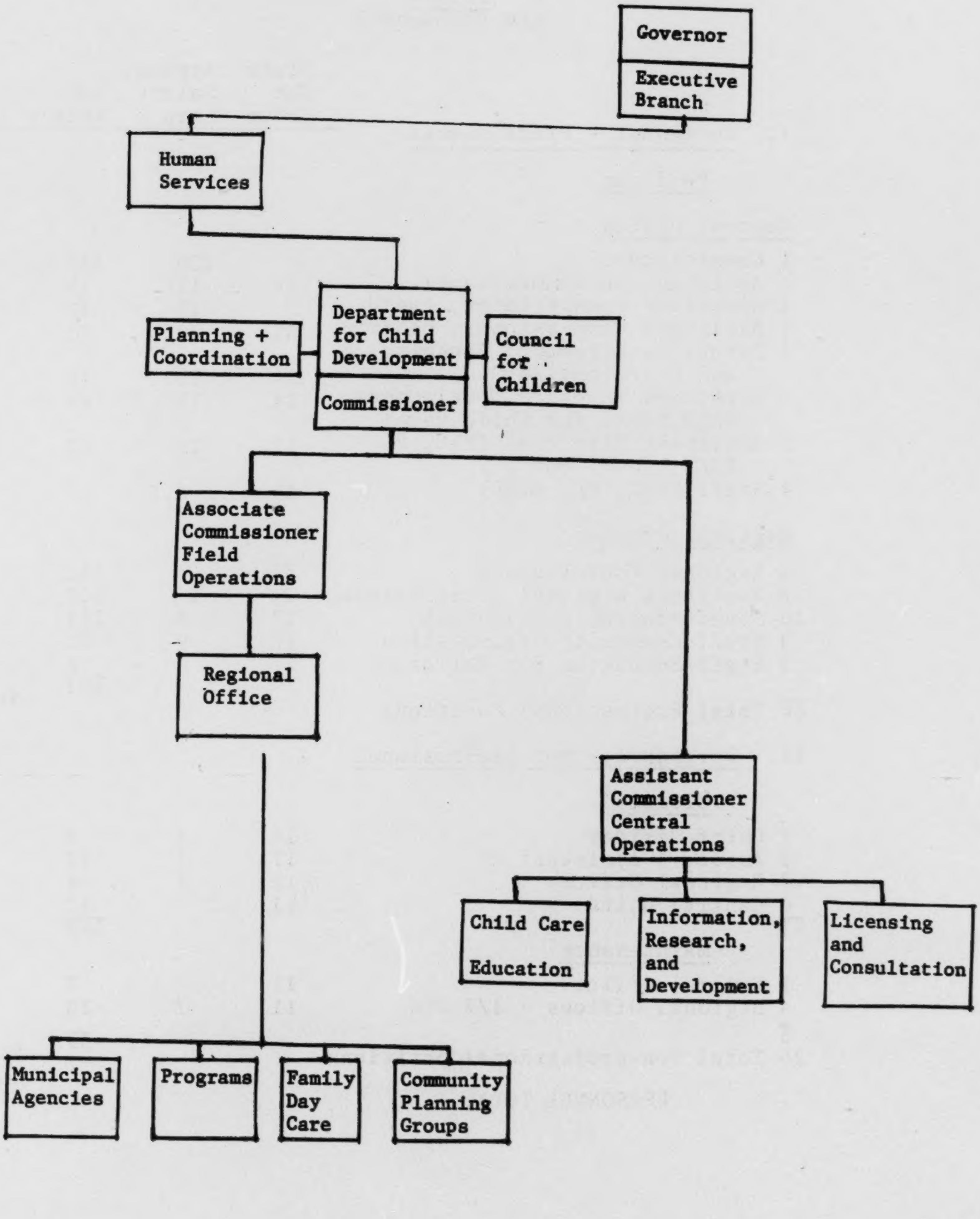
There is an undeniable need for improved services to children in Massachusetts, and it is our judgment that there is strong and widespread public support for action. The fact that a major comprehensive child care bill which would have involved billions of federal dollars passed Congress in 1971 is evidence of that support at the national level. There was not enough support, however, to override Mr. Nixon's veto.

It is clear, therefore, that developing programs of the kind we have proposed will require extensive bipartisan efforts, including a concerted effort by citizen groups. Parents and communities have not yet persuaded the leaders of state government that improved children's services are essential, rather than merely desirable. Groups concerned with children have reduced their potential effectiveness by fighting among themselves rather than working for common goals. Although several such groups exist, they tend either to be advocates for special kinds of children or of special programs, or to represent a special perspective, such as that of educators or mental health professionals. An effective, statewide children's lobby, concerned with the development of comprehensive services for all children, does not exist and is greatly needed.

The increasing need for more and improved services to children is the result of long-term permanent changes in our society, the effects of which are just beginning to be recognized in the public sector. We have two choices. We can try to delay action until the mounting pressures can no longer be resisted, or we can provide leadership responsive to the needs of our children.

Figure 9-1

ORGANIZATION CHART FOR OFFICE OF CHILD DEVELOPMENT


Governor
Executive Branch
Human Services
Planning + Coordination
Department for Child Development
Commissioner
Council for Children
Associate Commissioner Field Operations
Regional Office
Assistant Commissioner Central Operations
Child Care Education
Information, Research, and Development
Licensing and Consultation
Municipal Agencies
Programs
Family Day Care
Community Planning Groups

Department for Child Development

BUDGET
(in thousands)

I. Personnel - Professional	State Job Group	Approx. Salary Step 1	Sub-Totals	Totals
Position				
Central Office				
1 Commissioner		$30	$30	
1 Assistant to Commissioner	19	11	11	
1 Associate Commissioner, Field		23	23	
1 Assistant Commissioner, Central	31	20	20	
1 Executive Director, Planning and Coordination	26	16	16	
3 Directors (Program Development, RD&D, Educ. for Child Care)	24	15	45	
5 Assistant Directors (P&C, PD, RD&D, Educ. for CC)	19	11	55	
4 Staff (P&C, PD, RD&D)	16	8.5	34	
Regional Offices				
8 Regional Coordinators	31	20	160	
8 Assistant Regional Coordinators	24	15	120	
16 Staff-Program Development	17	9	144	
8 Staff-Community Organization	17	9	72	
8 Staff-Education for Childcare	17	9	72	
			802	
66 Total Professional Positions				$802
II. Personnel - Non-professional				
Clerical				
1 Chief Officer	14	8	8	
2 Assoc. & Assistant CO	11	7	14	
12 Regional Offices	11	7	84	
6 Central units	11	7	42	
21			148	
Maintenance				
1 Central Office	11	7	7	
4 Regional Offices - 1/2 FTE	11	7	28	
5			35	
26 Total Non-professional positions				$183
PERSONNEL TOTAL				$985

BUDGET (cont'd.)

III.	Other - Program Support	Breakdown	Sub-Totals	Totals
	Item			
1.	Research, Evaluation	5,900 per region	40	
	Innovation, Development	30,000 system evaluation	30	
			$70	
2.	Staff Development - Contracted Services	15,000 per region	120	
3.	Travel - long distance		5	
	in-state	(34 x 2000 @ 10¢/mile)	7	
			12	
4.	Conferences and Dissemination		30	$232
IV.	Other - Miscellaneous			
1.	Materials and supplies		28	
2.	Equipment (1st year)		35	
3.	Telephone		20	
			83	83
	"OTHER" TOTAL			$315
	COMBINED TOTAL (Personnel & Other)			$1,300

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

Table A3-1

Number of Children 0-6 in Massachusetts Families with Children 0-6

Number of Children 0-6	Per Cent of Families*
1	50
2	36
3	13
4	2
5+	0.2
Total	101.2%

*Figures do not total 100% due to rounding errors.

Table A3-2

Number of Children Over Age 6 in Massachusetts Families with Children 0-6

Number of Children Over Age 6	Per Cent of Families*
0	49
1	15
2	14
3	9
4	6
5	4
6	2
7	1
8	0.2
Total	99.2%

*Figures do not total 100% due to rounding errors.

Table A3-3

Average Number of Children 0-6 in Families with Any Child 0-6,* by Family Income, and by Mother Usually Working Outside the Home

in all such families	1.65
in families with income under $4800	1.93
in families with income $4800-9000	1.62
in families with income $9000-10,400	1.67
in families with income $10,400-15,000	1.66
in families with income $15,000+	1.51
in families with mothers who usually work outside the home	1.53

*Average number of children of all ages for families with children 0-6 is 2.96

Table A3-4

Per Cent and Estimated Number of Families with Children 0-6 in Massachusetts, by Income*

Total Family Income (before taxes)	Per Cent	Number
Under $1,999	3	12,000
$2,000-3,399	4	16,000
$3,400-4,799	4	16,000
$4,800-6,199	5	20,000
$6,20-7,599	7	27,000
$7,600-8,999	11	43,000
$9,000-10,399	16	62,000
$10,400-14,999	27	105,000
$15,000-19,999	9	35,000
$20,000+	6	23,000
Refused to answer	8	31,000
Total	100%	390,000

*MEEP Survey Results applied to MEEP estimate of 390,000 families with children 0-6 in Massachusetts. Figures rounded to nearest thousand and may not add to totals.

Table A3-5

Per Cent and Estimated Number of Families with Children 0-6 in Massachusetts,* by Type of Housing

	Per Cent	Number
House	59	230,000
Apartment	34	133,000
No Answer	7	27,000
Total	100%	390,000

*MEEP Survey Results applied to MEEP estimate of 390,000 families with children 0-6 in Massachusetts. Figures rounded to nearest thousand and may not add to totals.

Table A3-6

Per Cent and Estimated Number of Massachusetts Mothers and Fathers with Children 0-6, by Education

Last Grade Completed	Mothers Per Cent	Number	Fathers* Per Cent
Eighth grade or less	5	19,000	5
Fewer than four years or high school	16	61,000	14
High school graduate	44	166,000	37
Some college	16	61,000	18
College graduate	10	38,000	15
Graduate or professional school	7	26,000	11
N.A.	1	4,000	1
Total	99%	375,000**	100%

*Per cents from MEEP Survey. We were not able to estimate the number of fathers with children 0-6.

**Estimated number of mothers with children 0-6 in Massachusetts; total number of families estimated at 390,000. MEEP estimates that 4% of Massachusetts families with children 0-6 are single parent father-headed families. Figures rounded to nearest thousand and may not add to totals.

Table A3-7

Per Cent and Estimated Number of Massachusetts Mothers and Fathers with Children 0-6, by Employment Status

	Mothers Per Cent	Number	Fathers* Per Cent
Employed	24	91,000	92
Unemployed	9	34,000	5
Student	1	4,000	1
In training	-	1,000	1
Housewife	77	291,000	-
Total	111%**		99%

*Per cents are from the MEEP Survey. We were not able to estimate the number of fathers with children 0-6.

**Many mothers reported that they both work outside the home and that they are "housewives".

Note: Figures rounded to nearest thousand and may not add to totals.

Table A3-8

Per Cent and Estimated Number of Massachusetts Mothers and Fathers with Children 0-6, by Age

Age of Parent	Mothers* Per Cent	Number	Fathers** Per Cent
Under 21	2	8,000	1
21-25	20	76,000	12
26-30	31	117,000	27
31-35	23	87,000	25
36-40	14	53,000	19
41-45	7	26,000	12
Over 45	2	8,000	5
Total	99%	375,000*	101%

*Estimated number of mothers with children 0-6 in Massachusetts; total number of families estimated at 390,000.

**Per cents from MEEP Survey. We were not able to estimate number of fathers with children 0-6.

Note: Figures rounded to nearest thousand and may not add to totals.

Table A3-9

Per Cent and Estimated Number of Massachusetts Families with Children 0-6, by Urban or Rural*

	Per Cent	Number
Urban	76	296,000
Rural	24	94,000
Total	100%	390,000

*In the MEEP Survey rural was operationally defined by interviewers given instructions that rural was "sparsely populated areas in country-like settings".

Note: Figures rounded to nearest thousand and may not add to totals.

TABLE A5-1

MASSACHUSETTS DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
CITIES, TOWNS AND REGIONS PROVIDING PUBLIC KINDERGARTEN EDUCATION IN 1971 - 1972

ABINGTON
ADAMS
ALFORD
AMHERST
ANDOVER
ARLINGTON
ASHBURNHAM
ASHFIELD
AUBURN
AYER

BARNSTABLE
BELCHERTOWN
BELMONT
BERLIN
BERNARDSTON
BLACKSTONE
BLANDFORD
BOSTON
BOURNE
BOXBOROUGH
BOXFORD
BOYLSTON
BRAINTREE
BREWSTER
BRIDGEWATER
BRIMFIELD
BROOKLINE
BUCKLAND

CAMBRIDGE
CARLISLE
CHARLEMONT
CHARLTON
CHATHAM
CHELSEA
CHESHIRE
CHESTER
CHESTERFIELD
CHICOPEE
CHILMARK
CLARKSBURG
COHASSET
COLRAIN
CONCORD
CONWAY
CUMMINGTON

DARTMOUTH
DEDHAM
DEERFIELD
DENNIS
DOUGLAS
DOVER
DUDLEY
DUXBURY

EAST LONGMEADOW
EASTHAM
EASTHAMPTON
EASTON
EDGARTOWN
EGREMONT
ERVING
ESSEX
EVERETT

FALL RIVER
FALMOUTH
FITCHBURG
FRAMINGHAM

GAY HEAD
GILL
GOSHEN
GRAFTON
GRANBY
GRANVILLE
GREAT BARRINGTON
GREENFIELD

HADLEY
HAMILTON
HAMPDEN
HANOVER
HARDWICK
HARWICH
HATFIELD
HAWLEMONT
HAWLEY
HEATH
HINGHAM
HOLLAND
HOLYOKE
HOPEDALE
HULL
HUNTINGTON

IPSWICH

LANESBOROUGH
LAWRENCE
LEE
LENOX
LEOMINSTER
LEVERETT
LEXINGTON
LEYDEN
LINCOLN
LITTLETON
LONGMEADOW
LOWELL
LUNENBURG

MALDEN
MANCHESTER
MARBLEHEAD
MARLBOROUGH
MASHPEE
MATTAPOISETT
MEDFORD
MEDWAY
MELROSE
MERRIMACK
MIDDLEFIELD
MIDDLETON
MILLIS
MILLVILLE
MILTON
MONROE
MONTAGUE
MONTEREY
MONTGOMERY
MOUNT WASHINGTON

NAHANT
NANTUCKET
NATICK
NEEDHAM
NEW BEDFORD
NEW BRAINTREE
NEW MARLBOROUGH
NEW SALEM
NEWTON
NORTH ADAMS
NORTH ATTLEBORO
NORTHBORO
NORTH BROOKFIELD
NORTHAMPTON
NORTHBRIDGE
NORTHFIELD
NORTH READING
NORWELL
NORWOOD

OAK BLUFFS
OAKHAM
ORANGE
ORLEANS
OTIS
OXFORD

PELHAM
PETERSHAM
PITTSFIELD
PLAINFIELD
PLAINVILLE
PRINCETON
PROVINCETOWN

QUINCY

RAYNHAM
RICHMOND
ROCKLAND
ROCKPORT
ROWE
RUSSELL

SALEM
SALISBURY
SANDWICH
SCITUATE
SEEKONK
SHARON
SHEFFIELD
SHELBURNE
SHERBORN
SHREWSBURY
SHUTESBURY
SOMERVILLE
SOUTH HADLEY
SOUTHBOROUGH
SOUTHWICK
SPENCER
SPRINGFIELD
STERLING
STOCKBRIDGE
STOUGHTON
STOW
STURBRIDGE
SUNDERLAND
SWAMPSCOTT

TISBURY
TOLLAND
TOPSFIELD
TRURO

UXBRIDGE

WALTHAM
WARE
WAREHAM
WARREN
WARWICK
WATERTOWN
WAYLAND
WEBSTER
WELLESLEY
WELLFLEET
WENDELL
WENHAM
WEST BOYLSTON
WEST BROOKFIELD
WEST NEWBURY
WEST SPRINGFIELD
WEST STOCKBRIDGE
WESTBOROUGH
WESTFIELD
WESTMINSTER
WESTON
WESTPORT
WEST TISBURY
WESTWOOD
WHATELY
WILBRAHAM
WILLIAMSBURG
WILLIAMSTOWN
WINCHESTER
WINDSOR
WORCESTER
WORTHINGTON

YARMOUTH

TABLE A5-2

MASSACHUSETTS DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
CITIES, TOWNS AND REGIONS NOT PROVIDING PUBLIC KINDERGARTEN EDUCATION
AS OF NOVEMBER 1971

ACTON
ACUSHNET
AGAWAM
AMESBURY
ASHBY
ASHLAND
ATHOL
ATTLEBORO
AVON

BARRE
BECKET
BEDFORD
BELLINGHAM
BERKLEY
BEVERLY
BILLERICA
BOLTON
BROCKTON
BROOKFIELD
BURLINGTON

CANTON
CARVER
CHELMSFORD
CLINTON

DALTON
DANVERS
DIGHTON
DRACUT
DUNSTABLE

EAST BRIDGEWATER
EAST BROOKFIELD

FAIRHAVEN
FLORIDA
FOXBOROUGH
FRANKLIN
FREETOWN

GARDNER
GEORGETOWN
GLOUCESTER
GOSNOLD
GROTON
GROVELAND

HALIFAX
HANCOCK
HANSON
HARVARD
HAVERHILL
HINSDALE
HOLBROOK
HOLDEN
HOLLISTON
HOPKINTON
HUBBARDSTON
HUDSON

KINGSTON

LAKEVILLE
LANCASTER
LEICESTER
LUDLOW
LYNN
LYNNFIELD

MANSFIELD
MARION
MARSHFIELD
MAYNARD
MEDFIELD
MENDON
METHUEN
MIDDLEBOROUGH
MILFORD
MILLBURY
MONSON

NEW ASHFORD
NEWBURY
NEWBURYPORT
NORFOLK
NORTH ANDOVER
NORTON

PALMER
PAXTON
PEABODY
PEMBROKE
PEPPERELL
PERU
PHILLIPSTON
PLYMOUTH
PLYMPTON

RANDOLPH
READING
REHOBOTH
REVERE
ROCHESTER
ROWLEY
ROYALSTON
RUTLAND

SANDISFIELD
SAUGUS
SAVOY
SHIRLEY
SOMERSET
SOUTHAMPTON
SOUTHBRIDGE
STONEHAM
SUDBURY
SUTTON
SWANSEA

TAUNTON
TEMPLETON
TEWKSBURY
TOWNSEND
TYNGSBOROUGH
TYRINGHAM

UPTON

WAKEFIELD
WALES
WALPOLE
WASHINGTON
WEST BRIDGEWATER
WESTFORD
WESTHAMPTON
WEYMOUTH
WHITMAN
WILMINGTON
WINCHENDON
WINTHROP
WOBURN
WRENTHAM

TABLE A5-3

Summary of Factors Related to Kindergarten Implementation in Massachusetts Cities and Towns

LEGEND

Column	Variable Definition	Values
1	School year of Kindergarten Implementation	by school year
2	Education Department Region	WM = Wareham NA = North Andover WR = Worcester S = Springfield P = Pittsfield B = Boston
3	Rank of City or Town by Total population--1970 Census	1-351
4	Mean Income Rank--1960 Census	1-351
5	1968 Equalized Property Value/NAM	- = $0-18,550/NAM 0 = $18,551-25,750/NAM + = >$25,750/NAM
6	1968 School Tax Rate	- = $0-19 0 = $19.01-$26 + = >$26
7	1968 Local Revenue/NAM	- = $0-449 0 = $449.01-565 + = >$565
8	1968 Total Revenue/NAM	- = $0-617 0 = $617.01-710 + = >$710
9	1970 State Aid % Index	- = 15-30% 0 = 31-50% + = >50%
10	Enrollment Change Index #1--Increase 1968-70 as a percentage of 1968 enrollment	- = ≤average of 5.6% + = >average of 5.6¢
11	Equalized Property Tax Rate Change Index--Dollar Increase 1968-70	- = ≤average + = >average

A5-3 (continued)

Column	Variable Definition	Values
12	Total Parochial Students	- = none 0 = 1 - 1300 + = >1300
13	Enrollment Change Index #2--Projected Increase 1970-75 as a Percentage of 1970 Enrollment	- = ≤average + = >average
14	Kindergarten or First Grade Enrollment, 1970	
15	Number of five-year-olds (Census), 1970	
16	Number under five (Census), 1970	
17	Nonpublic Kindergarten, 1970--Number of Students	

A5-3 (continued)

Cities and Towns	Yr.Kg.Impl. (1)	Region (2)	Tot.Pop. '70 Rank (3)	Mean Inc. '60 Rank (4)	'68 Prop.Val./NAM (5)	'68 Sch.Tax Rate (6)	'68 Loc.Rev./NAM (7)	'68 Tot.Rev./NAM (8)	'70 State Aid % Ind. (9)	Enr.Ch.Ind. 1 (10)	Prop.Tax Ch.Ind. (11)	Tot.Paroch. '70 Ind. (12)	Enr.Ch.Ind. 2 (13)	Kg. (or 1st) Enr. '70 (14)	5 yr. olds (Cens.) '70 (15)	Under 5 (Cens.) '70 (16)	Nonpub.Kg. '70 (17)
Abington	70-71	WM	120	114	-	+	0	+	+	+	+	0	+	283k	287	1294	20
Acton	73-	NA	101	28	0	0	0	-	0	+	+	-	+	380	350	1601	152
Acushnet	72-73	WM	162	273	0	-	-	-	+	+	+	0	+	99	156	664	109
Adams	pre'67	P	129	243	0	0	-	-	0	+	-	0		165k	185	837	35
Agawam	73-	S	66	83	0	0	0	-	-	-	+	-	-	381	387	1907	177
Alford	67-68	P	339	297	+	-	+	+	-		-	-			7	13	
Amesbury	73-	NA	133	228	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	173	241	938	96
Amherst	68-69	S	56	233	0	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	181k	222	1289	13
Andover	pre'67	NA	60	26	+	0	+	+	-	-	+	0	-	347k	507	1931	56
Arlington	pre-67	B	22	46	+	-	0	0	-	-	+	+	-	736k	862	3880	23
Ashburnam	68-69	WR	238	269	-	+	0	0	0	+	-	-	+	67k	28	110	
Ashby	73-	NA	262	224	-	0	-	-	0	-	+	-	+	55	52	208	
Ashfield	67-68	P	294	317	-	0	0	0	0	-	-	-	+	23k	25	85	
Ashland	73-	WR	152	63	0	+	0	0	0	-	+	-	-	215	193	834	106
Athol	73-	WR	136	272	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	250	206	859	
Attleboro	73-	WM	38	146	0	0	0	-	0	-	+	+	+	627	642	2944	127
Auburn	70-71	WR	98	113	0	0	0	-	0	-	+	-	-	220k	289	1181	265
Avon	73-	B	198	106	-	+	0	+	0	-	-	-	+	131	113	496	45
Ayer	pre'67	NA	168	300	-	+	-	0	+	+	+	-	+	333k	124	718	46
Barnstable	pre'67	WM	70	222	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	0	+	381k	329	1521	
Barre	73-	WR	231	128	-	0	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	88	73	332	44
Becket	73-	P	309	217	+	-	0	0	-		-	-			16	74	
Bedford	72-73	NA	106	37	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	0	-	321	322	1255	119
Belchertown	69-70	S	188	149	-	+	0	0	0	-	-	-	-	111k	100	415	
Bellingham	73-	WR	103	127	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	0	+	407	448	1881	
Belmont	pre'67	B	49	18	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	0	+	328k	424	1889	63
Berkley	73-	WM	269	315	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	54	54	170	
Berlin	71-72	WR	266	144	-	+	0	0	0	-	-	0	+	56	54	169	40
Bernardston	pre'67	P	281	312	-	0	-	-	0	-	+	-	-	36k	25	138	
Beverly	73-	NA	32	100	+	0	0	0	0	-	-	0	-	715	743	3100	350
Billerica	73-	NA	40	119	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	1124	968	4207	
Blackstone	pre'67	WR	176	262	-	0	-	-	+	-	-	0	-	115k	175	614	
Blandford	69-70	P	312	275	+	-	0	0	-		+	-					
Bolton	72-73	WR	272	87	0	0	0	0	-	-	+	-	+	46	52	192	
Boston	pre'67	B	1	257	0	0	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	8686k	10393	49927	517
Bourne	pre'67	WM	116	281	-	-	-	0	0	-	-	-	-	305k	289	1209	
Boxborough	68-69	NA	286	177	-	+	+	0	-	-	-	-	+	34k	39	147	13
Boxford	68-69	NA	226	19	0	0	+	+	0	-	-	-	+	77k	71	332	
Boylston	69-70	WR	252	158	-	+	0	+	+	-	-	-	-	58k	55	221	9
Braintree	pre'67	B	35	59	+	0	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	668k	692	2674	
Brewster	pre'67	WM	276	278	+	-	+	0	-	+	-	-	+	25k	18	104	
Bridgewater	pre'67	WM	126	169	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	229k	251	1013	28
Brimfield	71-72	WR	271	211	0	0	0	+	0	-	-	-	+	54	54	152	
Brockton	73-	WM	10	189	0	0	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	1869	1912	9251	434

A5-3 (continued)

Cities and Towns	Yr.Kg.Impl. (1)	Region (2)	Tot.Pop. '70 Rank (3)	Mean Inc. '60 Rank (4)	'68 Prop.Val./NAM (5)	'68 Sch.Tax Rate (6)	'68 Loc.Rev./NAM (7)	'68 Tot.Rev./NAM (8)	'70 State Aid % Ind. (9)	Enr.Ch.Ind. 1 (10)	Prop.Tax Ch.Ind. (11)	Tot.Paroch. '70 Ind. (12)	Enr.Ch.Ind. 2 (13)	Kg. (or 1st) Enr. '70 (14)	5 yr. olds (Cens.) '70 (15)	Under 5 (Cens.) '70 (16)	Nonpub.Kg. '70 (17)
Brookfield	72-73	WR	267	310	-	+	-	0	0	+	-	-	-	51	50	189	
Brookline	pre'67	B	18	7	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	0	-	470k	541	2460	167
Buckland	pre'67	P	273	324	0	-	-	-	0	-	-	-		73k	33	152	
Burlington	73-	NA	165	41	0	+	0	0	+	+	-	-	+	715	328	2482	
Cambridge	pre'67	B	5	165	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	852k	1022	5919	187
Canton	73-	B	86	56	+	0	+	+	-	+	-	0	+	363	220	1650	
Carlisle	68-69	NA	250	34	0	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	59k	77	308	4
Carver	72-73	WM	257	320	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	55	45	146	
Charlemont	68-69	P	310	254	0	+	+	+	-		-	-			18	69	
Charlton	69-70	WR	209	225	-	0	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	131k	113	500	
Chatham	pre'67	WM	212	296	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	59k	69	252	
Chelmsford	73-	NA	42	39	-	0	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	920	850	3529	
Chelsea	pre'67	B	45	294	-	0	-	-	+	-	+	0	-	454k	467	2393	31
Cheshire	68-69	P	246	182	0	0	-	-	+		+	-			67	272	
Chester	68-69	P	302	313	0	+	+	+	0		+	-			20	74	
Chesterfield	71-72	P	319	329	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	16	20	45	
Chicopee	pre'67	S	14	180	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	988k	1196	5604	143
Chilmark	S.D.	WM	337	241	+	-	0	0	-	-		-	-	5	2	25	
Clarksburg	68-69	P	270	271	-	0	-	0	+	-	-	-	-	28k	41	145	
Clinton	73-	WR	110	208	0	-	0	0	+	-	+	0	-	157	258	1162	109
Cohasset	pre'67	WM	173	12	+	0	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	138k	140	516	
Colrain	69-70	P	288	276	+	-	-	-	-		-	-					
Concord	pre'67	NA	92	10	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	0	+	265k	175	1182	57
Conway	67-68	P	306	340	0	0	0	+	0	+	-	-	-	14k	13	91	
Cummington	S.D.	P	324	335	+	0	+	+	-			-			7	31	
Dalton	73-	P	166	89	0	0	0	+	0		-	0			167	623	81
Danvers	73-	NA	57	67	0	0	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	454	509	2011	247
Dartmouth	pre'67	WM	76	186	+	-	0	-	0	+	+	0	+	296k	336	1258	
Dedham	70-71	B	55	38	+	0	+	0	-	-	-	0	-	497k	525	2200	55
Deerfield	pre'67	P	229	212	-	0	-	-	0	-	+	-	-	51k	70	301	9
Dennis	pre'67	WM	178	283	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	77k	83	411	11
Dighton	73-	WM	207	229	+	0	0	0	0	-	+	-	-	98	110	409	76
Douglas	70-71	WR	248	230	0	0	-	-	0	-	+	-	-	69k	60	295	
Dover	pre'67	WR	213	4	+	0	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	69k	87	317	20
Dracut	72-73	NA	79	171	-	0	-	-	+	-	+	0	-	335	405	1604	
Dudley	pre'67	WR	159	215	0	-	-	-	0	+	+	-	+	129k	142	672	
Dunstable	73-	NA	292	24	-	+	0	0	0	+	-	-	+	39	39	143	23
Duxbury	pre'67	WM	163	237	+	-	+	0	-	+	+	-	+	182k	191	722	37
E.Bridgewater	73-	WM	156	147	-	+	0	0	+	+	-	-	+	238	204	786	78
E.Brookfield	73-	WR	275	86	-	0	-	-	0	+	-	-	-	50	45	159	37

A5-3 (continued)

Cities and Towns	Yr.Kg.Impl. (1)	Region (2)	Tot.Pop. '70 Rank (3)	Mean Inc. '60 Rank (4)	'68 Prop.Val./NAM (5)	'68 Sch.Tax Rate (6)	'68 Loc.Rev./NAM (7)	'68 Tot.Rev./NAM (8)	'70 State Aid % Ind. (9)	Enr.Ch.Ind. 1 (10)	Prop.Tax Ch.Ind. (11)	Tot.Paroch. '70 Ind. (12)	Enr.Ch.Ind. 2 (13)	Kg. (or 1st) Enr. '70 (14)	5 yr. olds (Cens.) '70 (15)	Under 5 (Cens.) '70 (16)	Nonpub.Kg. '70 (17)
Eastham	pre'67	WM	268	325	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	26k	27	128	
East-hampton	pre'67	S	113	210	+	-	0	0	0	+	-	0	-	176k	205	1024	39
E. Long-meadow	69-70	S	112	43	0	0	+	0	0	-	+	-	-	234k	240	1006	
Easton	pre'67	WM	121	152	-	+	0	0	+	+	-	-	+	283k	271	1071	7
Edgartown	pre'67	WM	284	344	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	30k	19	100	
Egremont	67-68	P	299	197	+	-	+	+	-		-	-			16	78	
Erving	67-68	WR	295	109	-	0	-	0	0	-	-	-	-	28k	23	89	
Essex	68-69	NA	253	179	+	0	0	0	-	+	-	-	-	46k	46	218	
Everett	pre'67	B	29	203	+	-	+	0	-	-	+	+	-	645k	668	3525	16
Fairhaven	73-	WM	90	234	0	0	0	0	0	+	+	0		298	312	1163	170
Fall River	pre'67	WM	6	303	0	-	-	-	+	+	+	+		1195k	1585	8267	537
Falmouth	pre'67	WM	94	279	+	-	0	0	-	-	+	-		311k	53	333	15
Fitchburg	pre'67	WR	27	231	+	-	0	0	0	+	-	+		510k	781	3521	136
Florida	73-	P	321	330	-	+	0	+	+	-	-	-		23	19	56	
Foxborough	73-	WM	102	66	0	+	0	0	0	+	+	-	+	357	321	1563	139
Framingham	68-69	WR	16	55	0	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	1154k	1259	5990	
Franklin	72-73	WR	83	181	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	0	+	464	495	2019	186
Freetown	72-73	WM	219	306	0	+	0	0	0	-	-	-	+	97	127	421	
Gardner	73-	WR	71	166	+	-	-	-	0	-	+	0	+	216	293	1363	77
Gay Head	S.D.	WM	349	351	+	-	+	+	-			-			1	8	
Georgetown	72-73	NA	199	97	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	153	142	543	
Gill	71-72	P	300	242	-	0	-	-	0	-	-	-	-	17	19	82	
Gloucester	73-	NA	51	286	0	0	0	0	0	-	+	0	-	409	501	2144	
Goshen	71-72	P	328	339	+	-	0	0	-	+	+	-	+	18	10	55	
Gosnold	S.D.	WM	350	346	+	-	+	+	-			-		0	1	7	
Grafton	68-69	WR	131	125	-	+	0	0	0	+	+	-	-	223k	214	944	
Granby	68-69	S	196	118	-	+	0	+	+	-	+	-	-	108k	128	559	
Granville	pre'67	P	304	284	+	-	0	0	-	-	+	-	-	28k	26	74	
G. Barring-ton	68-69	P	165	239	+	-	0	-	-		-	-			122	607	
Greenfield	pre'67	P	81	250	0	0	0	0	0	-	+	0	+	239k	253	1281	
Groton	73-	NA	203	103	0	+	+	+	0	-	-	0	+	119	105	489	
Groveland	73-	NA	197	120	-	+	0	0	+	-	-	0	+	118	120	565	160
Hadley	pre'67	S	234	148	+	0	+	0	-	-	+	-	-	53k	60	250	
Halifax	73-	WM	237	267	0	0	0	0	0	+	+	-	+	100	120	476	
Hamilton	pre'67	NA	181	107	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	133k	151	471	
Hampden	68-69	S	211	72	-	+	-	-	0	+	-	-	-	116k	124	499	
Hancock	73-	P	320	343	0	-	-	-	0	-	-	-	-	12	10	55	
Hanover	70-71	WM	143	79	-	+	+	+	0	+	+	0	+	282k	280	1176	103
Hanson	73-	WM	172	163	-	0	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	188	206	819	47
Hardwick	69-70	WR	258	287	-	0	-	-	0	+	-	0	+	51k	43	193	

A5-3 (continued)

Cities and Towns	Yr.Kg.Impl. (1)	Region (2)	Tot.Pop. '70 Rank (3)	Mean Inc. '60 Rank (4)	'68 Prop.Val./NAM (5)	'68 Sch.Tax Rate (6)	'68 Loc.Rev./NAM (7)	'68 Tot.Rev./NAM (8)	'70 State Aid % Ind. (9)	Enr.Ch.Ind. 1 (10)	Prop.Tax Ch.Ind. (11)	Tot.Paroch. '70 Ind. (12)	Enr.Ch.Ind. 2 (13)	Kg. (or 1st) Enr. '70 (14)	5 yr. olds (Cens.) '70 (15)	Under 5 (Cens.) '70 (16)	Nonpub.Kg. '70 (17)
Harvard	73-	WR	109	122	0	+	+	+	-	+	+	0	+	67	234	1164	38
Harwich	pre'67	WM	189	302	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	0	+	73k	84	352	158
Hatfield	68-69	S	251	268	0	0	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	50k	58	210	
Haverhill	73-	NA	25	173	0	0	0	+	0	+	+	0	+	860	428	3823	78
Hawley	69-70	P	345	305	0	+	+	+	0		-	-			7	15	
Heath	69-70	P	335	349	-	0	-	+	0		-	-			9	26	
Hingham	pre'67	WM	75	23	0	+	+	+	0	+	+	0	+	409k	436	1680	16
Hinsdale	73-	P	283	304	-	0	-	0	0		-	-			27	165	
Holbrook	73-	B	128	74	-	+	0	+	+	-	-	0	-	240	157	1183	208
Holden	73-	WR	118	29	0	0	0	0	0	-	-	-	-	255	246	979	
Holland	pre'67	WR	308	73	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	16k	19	75	
Holliston	73-	WR	122	75	-	+	0	0	0	+	+	0	+	333	340	1540	203
Holyoke	pre'67	S	23	223	0	0	0	0	0	-	+	+	+	710k	865	4267	185
Hopedale	pre'67	WR	216	101	+	0	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	82k	63	324	
Hopkinton	73-	WR	187	92	-	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	152	139	577	
Hubbardston	73-	WR	287	258	-	0	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	34	27	144	
Hudson	73-	WR	93	187	0	-	-	-	+	+	+	0	+	377	413	1756	159
Hull	pre'67	WM	144	164	0	0	0	0	+	+	+	-	+	202k	222	906	
Huntington	68-69	P	282	195	-	+	-	0	+		+	-			36	166	
Ipswich	68-69	NA	140	89	0	0	+	+	0	+	+	0	+	187k	232	919	
Kingston	73-	WM	186	248	+	-	0	-	0	+	+	0	+	113	114	608	26
Lakeville	72-73	WM	215	266	0	0	0	0	0	+	+	-	+	106	94	369	
Lancaster	73-	WR	185	232	0	0	-	+	0	-	-	-	-	77	121	496	93
Lanesborough	68-69	P	247	111	0	0	0	+	0	-	-	-	-	52k	57	263	
Lawrence	pre'67	NA	13	282	+	-	-	-	0	+	+	+	-	792k	1160	5621	106
Lee	pre'67	P	179	91	0	0	-	-	-	-	-	0	-	131k	134	569	
Leicester	73-	WR	151	142	-	0	-	-	+	-	-	0	-	137	186	786	49
Lenox	pre'67	P	192	174	+	0	0	0	-	+	+	0	+	83k	104	441	26
Leominster	pre'67	WR	37	157	+	-	0	0	0	+	+	+	+	519k	656	3003	81
Leverett	69-70	S	305	311	0	+	+	+	0	-	-	-	-	10k	16	68	
Lexington	67-68	NA	39	20	0	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	567k	633	2339	78
Leyden	S.D.	P.	336	347	-	+	-	-	+	-		-	-	6k	12	23	
Lincoln	pre'67	NA	164	9	+	0	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	181k	162	592	
Littleton	68-69	NA	180	65	0	0	0	0	0	-	-	-	-	132k	174	671	
Longmeadow	pre'67	S	97	3	+	0	+	+	-	-	+	0	-	278k	302	1034	
Lowell	pre'67	NA	7	256	0	0	-	0	+	+	+	+	+	1383k	1667	8431	256
Ludlow	73-	S	84	155	-	0	-	-	+	+	+	0	+	532	312	1428	104
Lunenburg	68-69	WR	167	140	-	+	0	0	0	-	-	-	-	133k	138	541	
Lynn	73-	NA	9	226	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	1531	1541	7545	615
Lynnfield	73-	NA	139	21	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	0	+	193	192	766	98

A5-3 (continued)

Cities and Towns	Yr.Kg.Impl. (1)	Region (2)	Tot.Pop.'70 Rank (3)	Mean Inc. '60 Rank (4)	'68 Prop.Val./NAM (5)	'68 Sch.Tax Rate (6)	'68 Loc.Rev./NAM (7)	'68 Tot.Rev./NAM (8)	'70 State Aid % Ind. (9)	Enr.Ch.Ind. 1 (10)	Prop.Tax Ch.Ind. (11)	Tot.Paroch. '70 Ind. (12)	Enr.Ch.Ind. 2 (13)	Kg. (or 1st) Enr. '70 (14)	5 yr. olds (Cens.) '70 (15)	Under 5 (Cens.) '70 (16)	Nonpub.Kg. '70 (17)
Malden	pre'67	B	20	154	0	-	-	-	0	-	+	+	+	745k	940	4759	44
Manchester	pre'67	NA	202	117	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	84k	110	426	20
Mansfield	73-	WM	145	137	-	+	0	0	+	-	+	-	+	279	245	1078	
Marblehead	pre'67	NA	67	17	+	-	+	0	-	-	+	0	-	328k	354	1553	86
Marion	73-	WM	240	150	+	-	0	-	-	-	+	-	-	67	68	262	30
Marlborough	pre'67	WR	52	178	0	0	-	-	+	+	+	0	+	564k	632	2976	72
Marshfield	73-	WM	99	95	0	+	+	+	0	+	+	-	+	448	415	1829	
Mashpee	pre'67	WM	293	345	+	-	0	0	-	-	-	-	-	27k	23	131	
Mattapoisett	68-69	WM	214	252	+	-	+	0	-	+	-	-	+	81k	36	181	
Maynard	73-	NA	148	85	0	0	+	0	0	+	+	0	+	185	193	925	11
Medfield	73-	WR	146	32	-	+	+	+	0	+	-	-	+	229	212	893	135
Medford	pre'67	B	15	115	0	0	0	0	0	+	+	+	-	986k	1066	4847	
Medway	67-68	WR	160	129	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	207k	92	391	
Melrose	pre'67	B	36	40	0	0	0	-	0	-	+	0	-	542k	571	2634	10
Mendon	73-	WR	256	265	0	0	-	-	0		-	-			52	204	
Merrimac	68-69	NA	221	221	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	98k	93	412	5
Methuen	73-	NA	34	126	+	-	0	-	0	+	+	+	+	528	647	2790	
Middleborough	72-73	WM	104	274	-	0	-	-	+	+	+	0	+	312	283	1314	211
Middlefield	pre'67	P	340	318	+	-	+	+	-		-	-					
Middleton	68-69	NA	225	168	-	+	0	+	0	+	-	-	+	80k	96	339	
Milford	73-	WR	72	198	+	-	-	-	0	+	+	0	+	330	369	1840	119
Millbury	73-	WR	124	194	-	+	0	0	+	-	+	0	+	242	250	1055	
Millis	pre'67	WR	194	124	-	0	-	-	0	-	-	-	-	164k	148	593	
Millville	70-71	WR	278	151	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	39k	40	149	
Milton	pre'67	B	53	16	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	359k	386	1417	
Monroe	S.D.	P	346	236	+	-	+	+	-	+		-	-	5	7	19	
Monson	73-	S	169	176	0	0	0	-	0	+	+	-	+	151	132	518	56
Montague	pre'67	P	155	253	-	0	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	112k	152	589	
Monterey	67-68	P	323	321	+	-	0	0	-		+	-			14	94	
Montgomery	69-70	P	332	280	-	-	-	-	+		-	-			10	32	
Mount Wash.	69-70	P	351	1	+	-	-	-	-		+	-			3	3	
Nahant	pre'67	NA	224	48	0	0	0	0	-	+	+	-	-	67k	82	351	
Nantucket	pre'67	WM	233	314	+	-	-	-	-	+		-	+	91	69	289	65
Natick	pre'67	WR	43	47	0	0	+	+	-	-	+	0	-	632k	645	2696	6
Needham	pre'67	B	46	22	+	0	+	+	-	-	+	0	-	504k	566	2270	43
New Ashford	S.D.	P	347	334	+	0	+	+	-			-			6	5	
New Bedford	pre'67	WM	4	309	0	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	1291k	1678	7887	386
New Braintree	S.D.	WR	322	57	-	+	0	0	+	-		-	-	14k	20	66	
Newbury	73-	NA	232	84	0	+	0	0	+	-	+	-	-	84	293	1432	

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Cities and Towns	Yr.Kg.Impl. (1)	Region (2)	Tot.Pop.'70 Rank (3)	Mean Inc. '60 Rank (4)	'68 Prop.Val./NAM (5)	'68 Sch.Tax Rate (6)	'68 Loc.Rev./NAM (7)	'68 Tot.Rev./NAM (8)	'70 State Aid % Ind. (9)	Enr.Ch.Ind. 1 (10)	Prop.Tax Ch.Ind. (11)	Tot.Paroch. '70 Ind. (12)	Enr.Ch.Ind. 2 (13)	Kg. (or 1st) Enr. '70 (14)	5 yr. olds (Cens.) '70 (15)	Under 5 (Cens.) '70 (16)	Nonpub.Kg. '70 (17)
Newburyport	73-	NA	95	244	0	0	-	-	0	+	-	0	+	301			
New Marlborough	67-68	P	301	227	+	-	+	+	-		-	-			14	94	
New Salem	70-71	WR	329	338	-	+	0	+	+	+	+	-	+	14	9	35	
Newton	pre'67	B	8	6	+	0	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	1156k	1594	5673	28
Norfolk	73-	WM	208	170	+	+	+	+	0	+	-	-	+	119	123	430	40
North Adams	pre'67	P	74	255	0	0	-	0	+	+	+	0	-	254k	301	1444	39
Northampton	pre'67	S	47	200	+	-	0	0	-	-	+	0	-	315k	388	1793	16
North Andover	73-	NA	91	80	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	0	+	284	336	1397	96
North Attleboro	pre'67	WM	77	156	0	-	-	-	+	+	-	0	+	352k	428	1865	56
Northborough	71-72	WR	150	169	-	+	0	0	+	+	+	-	+	252	213	921	106
Northbridge	pre'67	WR	127	135	0	-	0	0	0	-	-	+	+	214k	246	1154	20
North Brookfield	pre'67	WR	228	238	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	85k	116	352	
Northfield	pre'67	P	255	121	0	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	40k	47	301	
North Reading	68-69	NA	134	52	-	0	-	-	0	-	+	-	-	273k	269	1133	10
Norton	73-	WM	149	141	-	+	0	0	+	+	-	-	+	191	187	930	138
Norwell	68-69	WM	161	60	0	+	+	+	0	+	-	-	-	199k	202	882	
Norwood	pre'67	B	44	45	+	0	0	0	0	+	+	0	+	566k	604	2550	
Oak Bluffs	pre'67	WM	289	333	+	-	+	0	-	-	-	-	+	23k	16	87	
Oakham	67-68	WR	317	301	0	+	+	+	0	-	-	-	-	9k	14	53	
Orange	70-71	WR	184	261	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	129k	126	498	
Orleans	pre'67	WM	244	285	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-		39k	36	135	
Otis	70-71	P	314	299	+	-	0	0	-	-	+	-	+	11k	15	64	
Oxford	68-69	WR	142	185	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	220k	227	955	
Palmer	73-	S	130	123	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	0	+	225	229	898	
Paxton	73-	WR	235	42	-	+	+	0	-	-	-	-	-	58	60	264	34
Peabody	72-73	NA	24	81	0	+	+	+	0	-	-	+	-	1013	1045	4387	336
Pelham	S.D.	S	307	247	+	0	+	+	-	-		-	+	19	12	55	
Pembroke	73-	WM	135	204	-	0	-	-	0	+	+	-	+	317	330	1517	106
Pepperell	73-	NA	190	196	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	178	150	634	16
Peru	S.D.	P	343	298	+	-	0	+	-		-	-			9	27	
Petersham	pre'67	WR	303	213	0	-	-	+	0	-	-	0	-	16k	20	104	7
Phillipston	73-	WR	311	260	-	0	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	28	24	84	
Pittsfield	pre'67	P	19	162	+	-	0	0	0	-	-	+	-	1022k	1130	4584	18
Plainfield	S.D.	P	341	327	+	-	+	+	-			-			2	27	
Plainville	70-71	WM	204	145	0	0	0	0	+	-	+	0	-	85k	113	505	48
Plymouth	72-73	WM	78	251	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	0	+	336	296	1612	155
Plympton	73-	WM	297	277	-	0	-	-	0	-	-	-	-	34	30	114	

A5-3 (continued)

Cities and Towns	Yr.Kg.Impl. (1)	Region (2)	Tot.Pop.'70 Rank (3)	Mean Inc.'60 Rank (4)	'68 Prop.Val./NAM (5)	'68 Sch.Tax Rate (6)	'68 Loc.Rev./NAM (7)	'68 Tot.Rev./NAM (8)	'70 State Aid % Ind. (9)	Enr.Ch. Ind. 1 (10)	Prop.Tax Ch.Ind. (11)	Tot.Paroch. '70 Ind. (12)	Enr.Ch. Ind. 2 (13)	Kg. (or 1st) Enr. '70 (14)	5 yr.olds (Cens.) '70 (15)	Under 5 (Cens.) '70 (16)	Nonpub.Kg. '70 (17)
Princeton	68-69	WR	280	216	-	0	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	35k	32	158	
Provincetown	pre'67	WM	249	326	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	0	-	30k	32	170	12
Quincy	pre'67	B	12	102	+	-	+	+	0	-	+	+	-	1409k	1394	7125	5
Randolph	73-	B	54	58	-	+	0	0	+	+	+	0	+	593	562	2378	
Raynham	68-69	WM	174	153	-	+	0	0	+	-	+	-	+	189	160	613	
Reading	73-	NA	63	49	0	0	0	0	0	+	+	-	+	492	444	1915	301
Rehoboth	73-	WM	177	214	-	+	0	0	0	+	+	-	+	167	147	582	47
Revere	73-	B	28	218	+	-	-	-	0	-	+	0	-	710	703	3199	52
Richmond	67-68	P	285	33	-	0	-	0	+	-	-	-	+	35k	23	135	
Rochester	73-	WM	277	316	0	0	0	0	0	+	-	-	+	41	31	113	
Rockland	68-69	WM	96	167	-	0	-	-	+	-	+	0	-	358k	372	1650	
Rockport	pre'67	NA	195	116	+	-	+	0	-	-	-	-	-	77k	90	346	67
Rowe	pre'67	P	342	235	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	13k	7	15	
Rowley	73-	NA	245	201	-	+	0	0	0	-		-	-		73	287	
Royalston	73-	WR	315	348	-	0	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	11	11	79	
Russell	pre'67	P	290	94	0	0	0	0	-		-	-					
Rutland	73-	WR	242	133	0	+	+	+	0	-	-	-	-	75	65	300	30
Salem	pre'67	NA	30	206	+	-	0	-	-	+	+	+	+	576k	663	3052	63
Salisbury	pre'67	NA	223	307	0	-	0	-	-	+	+	-	-	85k	84	416	
Sandisfield	73-	P	325	342	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	10	9	37	
Sandwich	67-68	WM	200	290	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	55k	70	345	63
Saugus	73-	NA	59	64	0	0	0	0	-	-	+	-	-	512	493	2016	205
Savoy	S.D.	P	338	331	0	0	0	+	-	+		-	+	8	7	28	
Scituate	pre'67	WM	89	78	0	+	+	+	0	-	+	0	+	441	381	1632	391
Seekonk	71-72	WM	137	192	0	+	+	+	0	+	+	-	+	229	222	932	
Sharon	pre'67	B	119	27	-	+	+	+	0	-	-	0	-	204k	241	1019	
Sheffield	67-68	P	259	328	0	+	+	+	-		-	-			58	181	
Shelburne	pre'67	P	274	293	0	0	0	0	0		-	-					
Sherborn	pre'67	WR	241	14	+	0	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	78k	63	303	
Shirley	73-	NA	205	319	-	+	-	0	+	+	-	-	+	81	104	461	
Shrewsbury	69-70	WR	73	53	0	+	+	+	0	+	-	0	-	385k	360	1525	
Shutesbury	68-69	S	327	175	+	0	+	+	-	+		-	+	19	19	42	
Somerset	73-	WM	82	160	+	-	+	0	-	+	+	-	+	369	351	1456	54
Somerville	pre'67	B	11	205	0	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	1311k	1487	7538	
Southampton	72-73	P	243	90	-	0	-	-	0	-	+	-	-	71	62	307	
Southborough	70-71	WR	193	44	0	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	129k	148	552	32
Southbridge	73-	WR	87	183	+	-	0	0	0	+	+	0	+	269	306	1525	123
South Hadley	69-70	S	88	88	0	0	0	0	0	-	+	-	-	215k	254	1101	17
Southwick	68-69	P	183	134	-	+	0	0	0	-	-	-	-	170	33	125	65
Spencer	pre'67	WR	153	259	-	-	-	-	0	+	+	0	+	143k	176	791	

AS-3 (continued)

Cities and Towns	Yr.Kg.Impl. (1)	Region (2)	Tot.Pop.'70 Rank (3)	Mean Inc.'60 Rank (4)	'68 Prop.Val./NAM (5)	'68 Sch.Tax Rate (6)	'68 Loc.Rev./NAM (7)	'68 Tot.Rev./NAM (8)	'70 State Aid % Ind. (9)	Enr.Ch.Ind. 1 (10)	Prop.Tax Ch.Ind. (11)	Tot./Paroch.'70 Ind. (12)	Enr.Ch.Ind. 2 (13)	Kg. (or 1st) Enr. '70 (14)	5 yr. olds (Cens.) '70 (15)	Under 5 (Cens.) '70 (16)	Nonpub.Kg. '70 (17)
Springfield	pre'67	S	3	220	0	0	0	0	+	-	+	+	-	2495k	2940	13435	323
Sterling	71-72	WR	220	190	-	+	0	0	0	-	-	-	-	116	97	446	
Stockbridge	pre'67	P	261	36	+	-	0	-	-		-	-			355	1544	
Stoneham	72-73	NA	68	68	+	-	0	-	-	-	+	0	+	317		513	207
Stoughton	69-70	B	61	93	-	+	0	0	+	-	+	0	-	473k	570	2434	
Stow	71-72	WR	227	172	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	94	95	426	25
Sturbridge	pre'67	WR	206	161	0	0	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	111k	123	474	
Sudbury	72-73	NA	107	11	0	+	+	+	0	-	-	-	-	367	346	1303	254
Sunderland	pre'67	P	265	289	0	0	-	0	-	-	+	-	-	30k	24	175	
Sutton	72-73	WR	210	263	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	103	102	468	
Swampscott	pre'67	NA	105	13	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	0	+	174k	202	854	20
Swansea	73-	WM	115	188	0	-	-	-	0	-	-	0	-	207	236	1009	94
Taunton	72-73	WM	26	249	0	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	658	797	3488	495
Templeton	73-	WR	191	270	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	124	114	425	62
Tewksbury	72-73	NA	62	61	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	646	577	2433	86
Tisbury	pre'67	WM	263	292	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	33k	36	139	
Tolland	S.D.	P	348	332	+	-	+	+	-			-			4	14	
Topsfield	pre'67	NA	201	31	0	+	+	+	0	-	+	-	-	119k	113	423	14
Townsend	73-	NA	217	191	-	+	-	-	0	-	-	-	+	144	97	389	
Truro	pre'67	WM	296	35	+	-	-	0	-	-	-	-	+	24k	24	101	
Tyngsborough	73-	NA	222	71	0	-	-	-	0	+	+	0	+	98	101	460	25
Tyringham	S.D.	P	344	322	+	-	+	+	-	-		-	-	5			
Upton	73-	WR	239	130	-	0	-	-	+		-	-			62	287	
Uxbridge	pre'67	WR	157	199	0	-	-	-	+	+	+	0	-	124k	166	715	23
Wakefield	73-	NA	58	77	+	-	0	-	-	-	+	0	-	413	430	1950	
Wales	73-	WR	313	219	0	0	0	0	+	-	-	-	+	20	24	81	
Walpole	73-	B	80	76	0	+	+	+	-	-	+	0	-	378	452	1655	
Waltham	pre'67	B	17	105	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	0	+	888k	987	4739	
Ware	67-68	S	158	138	+	-	0	0	0	+	+	0	+	99k	146	651	32
Wareham	68-69	WM	132	336	+	-	0	0	-	-	-	-	+	200k	248	1049	
Warren	pre'67	WR	236	246	0	-	-	-	0	+	-	-	+	70k	70	321	
Warwick	S.D.	P	326	323	+	-	0	0	-	+		-	-	7k	5	24	
Washington	73-	P	333	209	-	+	-	0	0		-	-	-		8	41	
Watertown	pre'67	B	31	70	+	-	+	0	-	-	+	0	-	482k	592	3260	49
Wayland	68-69	WR	108	25	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	247k	325	1165	
Webster	69-70	WR	100	184	+	-	-	-	0	+	+	0	-	181k	258	1248	64
Wellesley	pre'67	B	50	5	+	0	+	+	-	-	+	0	+	376k	430	1773	47
Wellfleet	pre'67	WM	279	341	+	-	0	0	-	-	-	-		27k	20	113	
Wendell	70-71	WR	334	350	-	+	0	+	0	+	-	-		9	8	34	
Wenham	68-69	NA	230	15	+	-	0	0	-	-	-	-	-	55k	68	246	

A5-3 (continued)

Cities and Towns	Yr.Kg.Impl. (1)	Region (2)	Tot.Pop.'70 Rank (3)	Mean Inc.'60 Rank (4)	'68 Prop.Val./NAM (5)	'68 Sch.Tax Rate (6)	'68 Loc.Rev./NAM (7)	'68 Tot.Rev./NAM (8)	'70 State Aid % Ind. (9)	Enr.Ch.Ind. 1 (10)	Prop.Tax Ch.Ind. (11)	Tot.Paroch.'70 Ind. (12)	Enr.Ch.Ind. 2 (13)	Kg. (or 1st) Enr.'70 (14)	5 yr olds (Cens.) '70 (15)	Under 5 (Cens.) '70 (16)	Nonpub.Kg. '70 (17)
Westborough	68-69	WR	117	54	0	0	0	0	0	+	+	-	+	286k	246	1035	19
West Boylston	pre'67	WR	182	51	-	+	0	+	0	-	-	-	-	99k	95	421	
West Bridgewater	73-	WM	171	139	-	+	0	0	0	+	+	-	+	131	133	536	27
West Brookfield	pre'67	WR	254	264	0	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	42k	47	251	
Westfield	pre'67	S	41	104	0	0	0	0	0	-	-	0	+	581k	598	2781	
Westford	73-	NA	141	112	0	+	0	0	0	+	+	-	+	297	298	1189	
Westhampton	73-	P	316	202	+	-	0	-	0	-	+	-	+	17	16	67	
Westminster	69-70	WR	218	110	-	+	0	0	0	-	-	-	-	86k	83	336	
West Newbury	pre'67	NA	264	136	-	0	-	-	0	+	-	-	-	56k	55	199	
Weston	pre'67	B	138	2	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	180k	180	648	27
Westport	70-71	WM	147	295	+	-	0	0	-	+	+	0	+	183k	210	857	
West Springfield	pre'67	S	48	108	+	-	+	0	-	-	+	0	-	439k	499	2086	74
West Stockbridge	67-68	P	291	308	0	-	-	-	0		-	-			30	105	
West Tisbury	S.D.	WM	331	240	+	-	+	+	-	+		-	-	8			
Westwood	68=69	B	114	30	+	0	+	+	-	-	-	0	-	239k	251	1035	
Weymouth	73-	B	21	82	+	-	0	-	-	+	+	+	+	1205	1114	4722	351
Whately	69-70	P	298	193	+	0	0	0	-	-	+	-	-	13k			
Whitman	72-73	WM	111	131	-	0	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	239	284	1303	115
Wilbraham	71-72	S	125	62	0	0	0	0	0	+	-	-	+	262	236	926	
Williamsburg	68-69	P	260	288	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	53	52	169	
Williamstown	pre'67	P	154	143	+	0	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	109k	134	528	15
Wilmington	73-	NA	85	98	0	+	0	0	0	+	+	-	+	509	451	1873	
Winchendon	72-73	WR	175	291	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	160	154	597	55
Winchester	pre'67	NA	64	8	+	0	+	+	-	-	+	0	+	370k	419	1660	7
Windsor	S.D.	P	330	50	+	-	0	+	-			-			10	43	
Winthrop	73-	B	69	159	+	-	0	0	0	-	+	0	+	332	262	1472	162
Woburn	73-	NA	33	96	0	0	0	0	0	-	+	0	-	789	758	3534	259
Worcester	pre'67	WR	2	207	-	0	0	0	+	-	+	+	-	2681k	2770	12937	66
Worthington	69-70	P	318	337	+	0	+	0	-		-	-			16	62	
Wrentham	73-	WM	170	132	0	0	0	0	0	-	+	-	-	116	126	491	
Yarmouth	pre'67	WM	123	245	+	-	+	0	-	+	+	-	+	208k	205	877	

(x.19.71)

TABLE A5-4

MEEP KINDERGARTEN STUDY

Tax Impact Estimate 1970-71

The following tables were prepared for the Massachusetts Early Education Project by the staff of the Education Department's Division of Research and Development. Special thanks are owed Mr. Leo Turo and his co-workers for their efforts.

For each of the 118 districts without kindergartens, the tables estimate increased operational expenditures which will result when the kindergarten program is initiated, and translate this estimate into a statement of tax impact per 1000 dollars property valuation. Tax impact is estimated for both actual and full levees of property valuations. State totals are also included.

The formula for calculating yearly operational costs necessarily is approximate; it involves the following steps:

1) Total per pupil expenditure (PPE) is computed;

2) Local PPE is calculated by subtracting all state revenues from total PPE;

3) Local PPE is divided by two; (Note: Kindergarten PPE tends to be approximately half of PPE for other grade levels, since the program generally lasts for only half a day and in almost all cases employs the same teachers for both morning and afternoon sessions.)

4) Total projected kindergarten enrollment is estimated, as equal to total 1969-70 first grade enrollment;

5) Total projected kindergarten operational expenditure is calculated by multiplying projected kindergarten enrollment by kindergarten PPE;

6) Total projected operational expenditure is translated into a statement of tax impact according to the district's actual and full-value property assessments.

GRADE K STUDY TAX IMPACT ESTIMATE

1970 - 1971

CITY OR TOWN	---REGULAR DAY ELEMENTARY---			--ESTIMATED APPLIED AID PER PUPIL--				NET CURR.	50% OF	NO. OF	---TAX IMPACT---	
	CURR. OPER. EXPENDITURE	AVE. MEM.	COST PER PUPIL	AID PER PUP. IN AVE.MEM.	AID PER PUP.ATT. MEM.REG.	AID PER PUPIL TRANSPTD	APPLIED AID PER PUPIL	OPR. EXP. PER ELEM. PUPIL	NET EXP PER PUPIL	GR. 1 PUPIL 10/69	ASSESD. VAL/ 1000	EQUALZD. VAL/ 1000
ACTON	1,477,974	2,435	606.97	140.76	32.22	17.54	190.52	416.45	208.23	455	.98	1.00
ACUSHNET	273,346	589	464.08	161.00		42.17	203.17	260.91	130.46	92	1.41	.34
AMESBURY	778,472	1,292	602.53	191.32		74.23	265.55	336.98	168.49	148	.87	.55
ASHBY	194,689	339	574.30	177.10		80.88	257.98	316.32	158.16	55	.90	.79
ATHOL	673,096	1,289	522.18	171.79	42.90	17.09	231.78	290.40	145.20	263	2.51	.87
ATTLEBORO	1,858,457	3,468	535.89	137.67		15.09	152.76	383.13	191.57	687	.81	.82
AVON	448,268	804	557.55	205.36		.88	206.24	351.31	175.66	142	.74	.78
BARRE	346,445	502	690.13	209.95	47.88	82.32	340.15	349.98	174.99	82	3.66	.84
BEDFORD	1,308,079	1,925	679.52	116.63		46.26	162.89	516.63	258.32	323	1.47	.73
BELLINGHAM	936,120	1,928	485.54	181.67		35.41	217.08	268.46	134.23	379	2.27	1.02
BERKLEY	135,298	240	563.74	157.49		53.32	210.81	352.93	176.47	48	1.19	1.00
BEVERLY	2,336,845	4,123	566.78	114.24		36.52	150.76	416.02	208.01	729	.69	.65
BILLERICA	2,298,369	5,195	442.42	172.65		24.65	197.30	245.12	122.56	1075	2.99	1.03
BOLTON	265,759	345	770.32	64.36	22.75	40.94	128.05	642.27	321.14	48	.92	.86
BROCKTON	5,164,133	10,257	503.47	157.47			157.47	346.00	173.00	1814	1.91	.94
BROOKFIELD	153,556	310	495.34	202.19	49.35	60.31	311.85	183.49	91.75	61	.52	.51
BURLINGTON	2,511,406	4,178	601.10	136.81		11.73	148.54	452.56	226.28	733	.85	.83
CANTON	1,254,972	1,890	664.01	126.14		37.21	163.35	500.66	250.33	336	.55	.65
CARVER	357,663	423	845.54	67.71	24.32	70.59	162.62	682.92	341.46	63	3.52	.96
CHELMSFORD	2,959,733	4,990	593.13	148.37		42.18	190.55	402.58	201.29	878	3.71	1.18
CLINTON	489,683	863	567.42	188.71			188.71	378.71	189.36	153	1.84	.55
DANVERS	2,248,964	4,235	531.04	142.65		13.39	156.04	375.00	187.50	494	.60	.55
DIGHTON	257,391	497	517.89	92.54	34.57	22.75	149.86	368.03	184.02	94	2.27	.60
DRACUT	1,193,696	1,798	663.90	208.42		34.65	243.07	420.83	210.42	355	3.14	1.05
DUNSTABLE	115,435	190	607.55	133.15		63.80	196.95	410.60	205.30	39	3.42	1.00
EAST BRIDGEWATER	632,339	1,198	527.83	171.03		21.86	192.89	334.94	167.47	207	.69	.87
EAST BROOKFIELD	172,942	338	511.66	165.82	62.32	11.32	239.46	272.20	136.10	51	.86	.77
FLORIDA	106,527	160	665.79	201.74		114.80	316.54	349.25	174.63	23	2.24	1.15
FOXBOROUGH	1,976,690	2,592	762.61	176.74		30.22	206.96	555.65	277.83	355	1.27	1.22
FRANKLIN	1,586,240	2,977	532.83	179.32		25.85	205.17	327.66	163.83	447	.91	.81
FREETOWN	299,047	543	550.73	135.55	35.21	59.55	230.31	320.42	160.21	88	2.13	.55
GARDNER	683,379	1,263	541.08	137.58		40.21	177.79	363.29	181.65	203	.96	.44
GEORGETOWN	545,243	813	670.66	180.14		49.61	229.75	440.91	220.46	141	1.19	1.15
GLOUCESTER	1,825,125	2,907	627.84	99.59		24.06	123.65	504.19	252.10	405	.65	.63
GROTON	412,368	584	706.11	182.80		70.67	253.47	452.64	226.32	127	1.25	.99
GROVELAND	506,935	868	584.03	181.11	47.83	42.11	271.05	312.98	156.49	142	2.11	.97
HALIFAX	316,995	537	590.31	132.11	32.20	58.01	222.32	367.99	184.00	105	3.40	1.04
HANCOCK	56,701	100	567.01	150.07		116.52	266.59	300.42	150.21	9	.45	.39
HANSON	912,309	1,385	658.71	175.40	70.90	30.28	276.58	382.13	191.07	197	.92	1.37
HARVARD	377,180	459	821.74	110.16		35.80	145.96	675.78	337.89	73	2.56	.91
HAVERHILL	3,107,298	5,512	563.73	152.92		59.07	211.99	351.74	175.87	804	1.65	.73
HOLBROOK	823,593	1,399	588.70	171.34		6.35	177.69	411.01	205.51	277	1.11	.93
HOLDEN	1,572,971	2,140	735.03	155.30	63.17	28.78	247.25	487.78	243.89	237	.80	.75
HOLLISTON	947,843	1,349	702.63	176.55		19.07	195.62	507.01	253.51	346	3.49	1.34
HOPKINTON	490,243	840	583.62	140.65		54.65	195.30	388.32	194.16	143	.89	.65
HUBBARDSTON	163,833	219	748.10	226.62	43.31	77.29	347.22	400.88	200.44	41	.99	1.26
HUDSON	809,157	2,142	377.76	164.59		9.06	173.65	204.11	102.06	421	2.36	.61

GRADE K STUDY TAX IMPACT ESTIMATE

1970 - 1971

CITY OR TOWN	---REGULAR DAY ELEMENTARY---			--ESTIMATED APPLIED AID PER PUPIL--				NET CURR. OPR. EXP. PER ELEM. PUPIL	50% OF NET EXP PER PUPIL	NO. OF GR. 1 PUPIL 10/69	---TAX IMPACT---	
	CURR. OPER. EXPENDITURE	AVE. MEM.	COST PER PUPIL	AID PER PUP. IN AVE.MEM.	AID PER PUP.ATT. MEM.REG.	AID PER PUPIL TRANSPTD	APPLIED AID PER PUPIL				ASSESD. VAL/ 1000	EQUALZD. VAL/ 1000
KINGSTON	410,688	783	524.51	130.40	28.04	44.89	203.33	321.18	160.59	144	1.46	.80
LAKEVILLE	306,505	593	516.87	117.64	26.31	44.42	188.37	328.50	164.25	105	.78	.72
LANCASTER	401,159	602	666.38	165.96	52.20	40.40	258.56	407.82	203.91	95	.76	.73
LEICESTER	811,666	1,342	604.82	181.03		46.88	227.91	376.91	188.46	162	1.93	.76
LUDLOW	1,164,697	1,965	592.72	161.33		21.97	183.30	409.42	204.71	316	.93	.82
LYNN	4,051,866	7,729	524.24	109.01		50.84	159.85	364.39	182.20	1453	1.85	.54
LYNNFIELD	980,480	1,418	691.45	101.99		28.50	130.49	560.96	280.48	232	.74	.68
MANSFIELD	1,090,390	1,824	597.80	169.30		31.66	200.96	396.84	198.42	280	1.59	1.26
MARION	304,005	437	695.66	70.42	18.72	20.29	109.43	586.23	293.12	61	.60	.48
MARSHFIELD	1,460,975	2,339	624.62	116.33		21.79	138.12	486.50	243.25	411	1.07	1.09
MAYNARD	862,351	1,417	608.58	120.82		23.26	144.08	464.50	232.25	216	1.11	.96
MEDFIELD	843,607	1,416	595.77	173.48		12.15	185.63	410.14	205.07	235	.82	.80
METHUEN	1,592,614	2,868	555.30	160.21		11.26	171.47	383.83	191.92	540	2.10	.72
MIDDLEBOROUGH	1,091,879	2,247	485.93	160.20		35.93	196.13	289.80	144.90	335	1.01	.85
MILFORD	1,051,041	2,141	490.91	110.85		22.34	133.19	357.72	178.86	337	2.23	.66
MILLBURY	780,424	1,370	569.65	169.21		14.52	183.73	385.92	192.96	243	3.64	.94
MONSON	450,073	794	566.84	141.08		52.14	193.22	373.62	186.81	158	1.03	1.00
NEWBURY	472,037	702	672.42	176.20		37.24	213.44	458.98	229.49	106	4.12	1.43
NEWBURYPORT	1,186,886	2,218	535.12	136.23		24.79	161.02	374.10	187.05	311	.75	.75
NORFOLK	285,192	596	478.51	142.45	34.33	25.23	202.01	276.50	138.25	102	.59	.64
NORTH ANDOVER	852,203	1,456	585.30	67.90		25.71	93.61	491.69	245.85	233	1.70	.56
NORTON	654,375	1,045	626.20	179.70		38.16	217.86	408.34	204.17	183	.81	1.10
PALMER	926,900	1,547	599.16	67.90		76.57	144.47	454.69	227.35	225	3.35	.72
PAXTON	418,581	627	667.59	192.63	68.79	28.28	289.70	377.89	188.95	70	.50	.49
PEABODY	3,244,065	5,461	594.04	164.11		41.01	205.12	388.92	194.46	1084	.69	.75
PEMBROKE	887,188	1,636	542.29	135.12	34.27	46.94	216.33	325.96	162.98	339	1.37	1.07
PEPPERELL	458,300	866	529.21	187.67	44.09	55.13	286.89	242.32	121.16	157	.85	.76
PHILLIPSTON	68,882	143	481.69	188.94	44.11	69.47	302.52	179.17	89.59	21	1.54	.54
PLYMOUTH	1,612,351	2,466	653.83	61.70	21.79	10.66	94.15	559.68	279.84	356	1.45	.66
PLYMPTON	121,246	173	700.84	117.55	20.58	62.05	200.18	500.66	250.33	25	.69	.78
RANDOLPH	1,858,888	3,537	525.55	177.97		17.92	195.89	329.66	164.83	634	.89	.86
READING	1,661,344	2,829	587.25	126.44			126.44	460.81	230.41	511	.78	.79
REHOBOTH	457,735	884	517.80	130.15	50.36	28.86	209.37	308.43	154.22	163	.84	.74
REVERE	2,917,809	3,967	735.52	147.68		12.32	160.00	575.52	287.76	727	2.40	1.06
ROCHESTER	175,046	244	717.40	95.19	22.68	27.49	145.36	572.04	286.02	38	1.10	.84
ROWLEY	390,607	582	671.15	207.72		80.42	288.14	383.01	191.51	74	.70	.71
ROYALSTON	64,127	110	582.97	156.78	35.46	106.86	299.10	283.87	141.94	17	1.90	.69
RUTLAND	305,748	476	642.33	140.61	49.43	45.37	235.41	406.92	203.46	63	1.17	.83
SANDISFIELD	45,320	60	755.33	56.96		211.33	268.29	487.04	243.52	9	.93	.38
SAUGUS	1,866,079	3,181	586.63	89.49		44.61	134.10	452.53	226.27	529	.61	.70
SHIRLEY	316,650	623	508.27	149.72		36.34	186.06	322.21	161.11	78	3.01	.90
SOUTHBRIDGE	968,125	1,724	561.56	144.48		2.48	146.96	414.60	207.30	263	2.36	.70
STONEHAM	1,231,172	2,216	555.58	114.80		5.39	120.19	435.39	217.70	356	1.28	.56
SUDBURY	2,233,262	3,256	685.89	131.50	50.39	16.83	198.72	487.17	243.59	377	.68	.83
SUTTON	291,884	501	582.60	185.29		59.14	244.43	338.17	169.09	99	1.65	.93
SWANSEA	750,186	1,331	563.63	158.45		23.01	181.46	382.17	191.09	216	.56	.55
TAUNTON	2,738,664	4,744	577.29	165.70		48.31	214.01	363.28	181.64	679	1.97	.81

GRADE K STUDY TAX IMPACT ESTIMATE

1970 - 1971

CITY OR TOWN	---REGULAR DAY ELEMENTARY---			--ESTIMATED APPLIED AID PER PUPIL--				NET CURR. OPR. EXP. PER ELEM. PUPIL	50% OF NET EXP PER PUPIL	NO. OF GR. 1 PUPIL 10/69	---TAX IMPACT-	
	CURR. OPER. EXPENDITURE	AVE. MEM.	COST PER PUPIL	AID PER PUP. IN AVE.MEM.	AID PER PUP.ATT. MEM.REG.	AID PER PUPIL TRANSPTD	APPLIED AID PER PUPIL				ASSESD. VAL/ 1000	EQUALZ VAL/ 1000
TEMPLETON	404,311	796	507.93	224.67	51.43	37.34	313.44	194.49	97.25	121	.72	.59
TEWKSBURY	1,733,791	3,376	513.56	193.36		38.36	231.72	281.84	140.92	618	3. 3	1.00
TOWNSEND	388,161	609	637.37	173.50	46.33	49.54	269.37	368.00	184.00	132	1.59	1.21
TYNGSBOROUGH	341,040	471	724.08	155.89		67.93	223.82	500.26	250.13	106	7.22	1.36
WAKEFIELD	1,590,690	2,809	566.28	101.60		9.43	111.03	455.25	227.63	463	1.41	.58
WALES	98,286	156	630.04	244.00	57.64	51.57	353.21	276.83	138.42	33	1.02	.95
WALPOLE	1,520,582	2,376	639.98	120.47		20.69	141.16	498.82	249.41	388	.81	.73
WEST BRIDGEWATER	543,761	893	608.91	151.58		25.45	177.03	431.88	215.94	143	1.01	.98
WESTFORD	820,206	1,407	582.95	173.10		41.18	214.28	368.67	184.34	275	.98	.96
WEYMOUTH	3,358,864	6,571	511.16	80.76		24.55	105.31	405.85	202.93	1142	.65	.60
WHITMAN	1,129,482	1,950	579.22	183.91	74.94	1.76	260.61	318.61	159.31	360	.81	1.01
WILMINGTON	1,126,886	2,704	416.75	115.72		33.87	149.59	267.16	133.58	529	.59	.59
WINCHENDON	523,137	796	657.21	207.56		59.08	266.64	390.57	195.29	162	2.48	1.41
WINTHROP	987,500	1,702	580.20	153.17		43.73	196.90	383.30	191.65	318	.79	.69
WOBURN	3,016,916	4,709	640.67	135.08		34.67	169.75	470.92	235.46	799	1.99	.86
WRENTHAM	544,210	825	659.65	154.26	42.63	40.56	237.45	422.20	211.10	142	1.09	.92
CITY TOTAL	113,605,902	197,066	576.49	143.64	141.82	30.86	316.32	260.17	130.09	33487	.74	.52
CENTRAL BERKSHIRE	920,331	1,332	690.94			38.77	38.77	652.17	326.09	203	5.03	4.21
MENDON UPTON	407,471	776	525.09			74.17	74.17	450.92	225.46	135	2.34	2.21
REGIONAL TOTAL	1,327,802	2,108	629.89			52.37	52.37	577.52	288.76	338	3.73	3.31

NOTE A5-5

ROLL CALL VOTES ON H.1110: 1971

HOUSE . . . . No. 1110

By Mr. Ohlson of West Bridgewater, petition of Carl R. Ohlson relative to the maintenance of kindergarten classes. Education.

The Commonwealth of Massachusetts

In the Year One Thousand Nine Hundred and Seventy-One.

AN ACT RELATIVE TO THE MAINTENANCE OF KINDERGARTEN CLASSES.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:

Section 1G of chapter 15 of the General Laws is hereby amended by adding at the end thereof the following paragraph: —

Notwithstanding any provisions of this section to the contrary, no city or town shall be required to maintain kindergarten classes except by vote of its school committee.

Yea and Nay Supplement

JOURNAL OF THE HOUSE.

Tuesday, March 9, 1971.

Yea and Nay No. 46

On a motion (Mr. Ohlson of West Bridgewater) to substitute the bill for a House report of the committee on Education, ought not to pass, on the petition (accompanied by bill, House, No. 1110) of Carl R. Ohlson relative to the maintenance of kindergarten classes.

YEAS	N-V	NAYS
	Mr. Speaker	
	McGrath	
	Murphy, P.	●
●	Aguiar	
	Ahearn	●
	Alaimo	●
●	Almeida	
●	Ambler	
●	Asiaf	
	Atkins	●
●	Balthazar	
●	Bertonazzi	
●	Bevilacqua	
●	Bohigian	
	Bolling ●	
	Bourque	●
●	Boverini	
	Bowler	●
●	Brett	
	Buckley	●
●	Buffone	
	Buglione	●
	Burke	●
	Businger	●
●	Cahill	
●	Cain	
●	Callahan	
	Campobasso	●
●	Carey	
	Carney, D. W.	●
●	Carney, P. N.	
●	Carrigan	
	Cavanaugh	●
●	Chmura, R.	
●	Chmura, S. T.	
	Coffey	●
	Collaro	●
●	Cole	
●	Connell	
●	Conway	
	Coppinger	
●	Coury	
	Craven	
●	Creedon	
●	Creighton	
●	Cusack	
	Daly, M. J.	●
●	Del Grosso	
	Demers	●
●	Desmond	
	Dever	●
●	DiFruscio	
●	Dignan	
●	Donovan	
●	Doyle	
	Driscoll	●
	Duffin	●
●	Dwinell	
	Dwyer	●
●	Early	

YEAS	N-V	NAYS
●	Engdahl	
●	Fallon	
	Fantasia	●
●	Farrell	
	Feeney	●
	Finnegan	
	Flaherty, C. F.	●
	Flaherty M. F.	●
●	Flynn, D. L.	
	Flynn, R. L.	●
●	Galotti	
●	Gaudette	
	Golden●	
	Grimaldi	●
	Grimley	●
	Guilmette	●
	Guzzi	●
●	Hart	
●	Hayes	
	Hickey●	
●	Hogan	
	Holgate●	
●	Howe	
	Hurrell	●
●	Ivascyn	
●	Joyce	
	Kearney●	
	Kendall	●
●	Kenney	
●	Keverian	
●	Kiernan	
	Kimbrell●	
●	King	
	Kitterman	●
●	Kulig	
	Kuss	●
	LaFontaine	●
●	Lambros	
	Landry	●
●	Langone	
	Lapointe	●
●	LeBlanc	
●	Lewis	
	Liederman	●
●	Lolas	
●	Lombard	
●	Lombardi	
●	Long, J. J.	
●	MacLean	
●	Mahoney	
	Malloy	●
●	Manning, D. J.	
●	Manning, M. J.	
●	Marshall	
	Matrango	●
●	McBride	
●	McCarthy, P. C.	
●	McCarthy, R. E.	
	McColgan	●
●	McGinn	

YEAS	N-V	NAYS
	McGlynn	●
●	McGovern	
	McGuane	●
	McKenna	●
●	McLaughlin	
	Mello	●
	Menton	●
	Mofenson	●
●	Mooney	
●	Murphy, J. E.	
●	Murphy, P.M.	
●	Nash	
●	Navin	
	Nickinello	●
	Nolen ●	
●	O'Brien, J. A.	
	O'Brien, J. P.	●
	O'Brien● N. C.	
	O'Donnell	●
	O'Leary	●
	Olver	●
●	Peck	
●	Perrault	
●	Pickett	
	Picucci	●
	Pina	●
	Piro ●	
	Pitaro	●
●	Raposa	
●	Reinstein	
●	Ronayne	
	Rotenberg	●
●	Rourke	
●	Sacco	
	Scalli	●
●	Schlesstein	
●	Selbelli	
	Sclafani	●
●	Semensi	
	Serlin	●
	Serra	●
●	Shea	
	Sheehy	●
●	Sirianni	
	Sisitsky	●
●	Smith	
	Spence	●
	Sullivan	●
	Tobin	●
●	Toomey	
●	Vigneau	
	Vigneault	●
●	Viveiros	
	Volterra	●
	Walsh	●
	Weinberg	●
●	Wetmore	
	Wojtkowski	●
—	Hatch	●
	Linsky	●

YEAS	N-V	NAYS
	Belmonte	●
●	Robinson	
●	Adams	
●	Ames	
●	Aronson	
	Arvanitis	●
●	Babb	
●	Bliss	
	Bly	●
●	Bowes	
●	Buell	
	Bussone	●
●	Cahoon	
●	Chadwick	
●	Cole	
●	Connolly	
	Corriveau	●
●	Cox	
●	Curtiss	
●	Daly, R. W.	
●	Danovitch	
	Desrocher	
●	Dickson	
●	Elwell	
●	Farnsworth	
●	Flannery	
●	Freeman	
●	Frye	
	Gannett	●
●	Gillette	
●	Grasso	
●	Hannon	
●	Harrington	
	Healy	●
●	Laing	
●	Lionett	
●	Long, C. W.	
●	Losch	
●	MacKenzie	
	Mann	●
●	Masnik	
●	Mayhew	
●	Morini	
●	Moseley	
●	Nordberg	
●	Ohlson	
●	Pottle	
●	Reynolds	
●	Rockett	
●	Rosenfeld	
●	Ryan	
●	Shattuck	
●	Silva	
●	Simons	
	St. Cyr	●
●	Towse	
●	Twomey	
●	Woods	
	Young	●
●	Zeiser	

YEAS: 143 N-V: 15 NAYS: 82

Yea and Nay Supplement

JOURNAL OF THE HOUSE.

Wednesday, March 10, 1971.

Yea and Nay No. 47

On a recurring question on a motion (offered by Mr. Ohlson of West Bridgewater) to substitute the bill for a House report of the committee on Education, ought not to pass, on the petition (accompanied by bill, House, No. 1110) of Carl R. Ohlson relative to the maintenance of kindergarten classes.

YEAS		N-V	NAYS
	Mr. Speaker		●
	McGee	●	
	Murphy, P.		●
●	Aguiar		
	Ahearn	●	
●	Aleixo		
●	Almeida		
●	Ambler		
●	Asiaf		
	Atkins		●
●	Balthazar		
●	Bertonazzi		
●	Bevilacqua		
●	Bohigian		
	Bolling		●
	Bourque		●
●	Boverini		
	Bowler		●
●	Brett		
	Buckley		●
●	Buffone		
	Buglione		●
	Burke		●
	Businger		●
●	Cahill		
●	Cain		
●	Callahan		
	Campobasso		●
●	Carey		
	Carney, D. W.	●	
	Carney, P. N.	●	
●	Carrigan		
	Cavanaugh		●
●	Chmura, R.		
●	Chmura, S. T.		
	Coffey		●
●	Collaro		
●	Colo		
	Connell	●	
●	Conway		
●	Coppinger		
●	Coury		
	Craven	●	
●	Creedon		
●	Creighton		
●	Cusack		
	Daly, M. J.		●
	Del Grosso		
	Demers		●
●	Desmond		
	Dever		●
●	DiFruscio		
●	Dignan		
●	Donovan		
●	Doyle		
	Driscoll		●
	Duffin		●
●	Dwinell		
	Dwyer		●
●	Early		
●	Engdahl		
	Fallon		●
	Fantasia		●
●	Farrell		
	Feeney		●
	Finnegan		●
	Flaherty C. F.	●	
	Flaherty M. F.		●
●	Flynn, D. L.		
	Flynn, R. L.		●
●	Galotti		
●	Gaudette		
	Golden		●
	Grimaldi		●
	Grimley		●
	Guilmette		●
	Guzzi		●
	Hart		●
●	Hayes		
●	Hickey		
●	Hogan		
	Holgate	●	
●	Howe		
	Hurrell		●
●	Ivascyn		
●	Joyce		
	Kearney		●
	Kendall		●
●	Kenney		
●	Keverian		
●	Kiernan		
●	Kimbrel		
●	King		
	Kitterman		●
●	Kulig		
	Kuss		●
●	LaFontaine		
●	Lambros		
	Landry		●
●	Langone		
	Lapointe		●
	LeBlanc	●	
●	Lewis		
	Liederman	●	
●	Lolas		
●	Lombard		
●	Lombardi		
●	Long, J. J.		
●	MacLean		
	Mahoney		●
	Malloy		●
	Manning, D. J.		●
●	Manning, M. J.		
	Marshall		●
	Matrango		●
●	McBride		
●	McCarthy, P. C.		
●	McCarthy, R. E.		
	McColgan		●
●	McGinn		
	McGlynn		●
●	McGowan		
	McGuane		●
	McKenna		●
	McLaughlin		●
	Mello		●
	Menton		●
	Mofenson		●
●	Mooney		
●	Murphy, J. E.		
●	Murphy, P.M.		
●	Nash		
●	Navin		
	Nickinello		●
	Nolen	●	
	O'Brien, J. A.		●
	O'Brien, J. P.	●	
	O'Brien, N. C.	●	
	O'Donnell		●
	O'Leary		●
	Olver		●
●	Peck		
	Perrault	●	
●	Pickett		
	Picucci		●
	Pina	●	
	Piro		●
	Pitaro		●
●	Raposa		
●	Reinstein		
●	Ronayne		
	Rotenberg		●
	Rourke	●	
●	Sacco		
	Scalli		●
●	Schlosstein		
	Scibelli	●	
●	Sclafani		
●	Semensi		
	Serlin		●
	Serra		●
●	Shea		
	Sheehy		●
●	Sirianni		
	Sisitsky		●
●	Smith		
	Spence	●	
	Sullivan	●	
	Tobin		●
●	Toomey		
●	Vigneau		
	Vigneault		●
●	Viveiros		
	Volterra		●
	Walsh	●	
	Weinberg		
●	Wetmore		
	Wojtkowski		
—	Hatch	●	—
	Linsky		●
	Belmonte		●
	Robinson		●
●	Adams		
●	Ames		
●	Aronson		
	Arvanitis		●
	Babb		●
●	Bliss		
	Bly	●	
●	Bowes		
●	Buell		
	Bussone		●
●	Cahoon		
●	Chadwick		
●	Cole		
	Connelly		●
	Corriveau		●
●	Cox		
●	Curtiss		
●	Daly, R. W.		
●	Danovitch		
●	Desrocher		
	Dickson		●
●	Elwell		
	Farnsworth		●
●	Flannery		
●	Freeman		
	Frye		●
	Gannett		●
●	Gillette		
●	Grosse		
●	Hannon		
●	Harrington		
	Healy		●
●	Laing		
●	Lionett		
●	Long, C. W.		
●	Losch		
●	MacKenzie		
	Mann		●
●	Masnik		
●	Mayhew		
	Marini	●	
●	Moseley		
●	Nordberg		
●	Ohlson		
●	Pottle		
	Reynolds	●	
●	Rockett		
●	Rosenfeld		
●	Ryan		
●	Shattuck		
●	Silva		
●	Simons		
	St. Cyr		●
●	Towse		
●	Twomey		
●	Woods		
	Young		●
●	Zeiser		

YEAS: 129

N-V: 27

NAYS: 84

NOTE A6-1

EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES IN MASSACHUSETTS[1]

EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION, CHILD STUDY AND/OR CHILD DEVELOPMENT WITH FOCUS ON THE EARLY YEARS

Degree Programs: Two Year

Bristol Community College
A.S., Child Care (non-transfer: institutional care orientation, social work emphasis)

Endicott Jr. College
Child Development and Education major

Garland Jr. College
Two-year Home Economics with Child Study major; summer institutes[2]

Holyoke Community College
A.A. in Early Childhood (Day Care Nursery Kindergarten), "Elementary Education Early Child Assistants"

Labouré Jr. College
A.S. (transfer), Child Development major (allied health sciences)

Lasell Jr. College
Child Study major: A.A. (non-transfer; A.A. (for transfer)

Massachusetts Bay Community College: Evening Division only
A.S. (non-transfer), "Career Degree Program in Early Child Assistant or Child Care"

Mount Ida Jr. College
A.A., Child Study major, lab preschool (oriented primarily to 3-5 yr. olds, some elementary practice)

Northern Essex Community College[2]
A.S. in Kindergarten, Day Care

Pine Manor Jr. College
A.A., Child Development major, Socialization of Child and Family minor

Quinsigamond Community College: Continuing Education Division only
A.A. in Early Childhood with supervised practice

Springfield Technical College
A.S. in Early Childhood

Suffolk University[2,3]
A.A., major emphasis Sociology rather than Early Childhood Education

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[1] We wish to express our appreciation to Mrs. Bernice Factor, of the Day Care Licensing Unit, Massachusetts Department of Public Health, for this listing.

Degree Programs:

	Four Year	Graduate
Brandeis University	B.A. in General Psychology can be combined with an offering from the educational program which consists of one semester supervised practice teaching which could be in early childhood, plus a related seminar. This B.A. also includes a single course in Child Development.	Florence Heller School of Social Studies Doctoral studies program "Child Welfare"
Boston University	Undergraduate specialized programs: 4-yr. program in Early Child Education, 4-yr. program in special education in Mental Retardation with focus on early childhood.	Ed.M., Early Childhood; Ed.M., Special Education in Early Childhood
Clark University		Interdisciplinary M.A. or Ed.M. with the M.A. in Childhood Development and related fields, including Sociology and Business Administration. Currently being offered on an individualized plan basis via Department of Education as liaison.
Lesley College	B.S. in Education - "Program I" (Elementary and Early Childhood Education)	Ed.M., "Program I" (Elementary Early Childhood Education)
Salem State College	B.S. with Child Development major and special project in education of Family Day Care Mothers	None
Simmons College	(Department of Home Economics) B.S. in Child Development (can be combined with elementary education for Massachusetts Kindergarten Certificate)	M.S., Child Development major (can be combined with elementary education for Massachusetts certificate)

Degree Programs (cont'd.):

	Four Year	Graduate
Smith College	B.A. in Education and Child Study major with some preschool practice	M.A., Education (Child Study major with some preschool practice)
Tufts University	(Eliot-Pearson Department of Child Study) B.A., Child Study major with some preschool practice	(Eliot-Pearson Department) M.A., Child Study major; two laboratory facilities; preschool; also Day Care Center
University of Massachusetts at Amherst	B.S. in Home Economics with Child Development major and possibility of a one-semester affiliation with Merrill-Palmer Institute of human development and family life (inner-city environment). Also: Kindergarten-Elementary certificate possible via this program; supervised practice experience of two kinds both within and without the University's lab, preschools, three in number and varied: 2-yr. olds, 3's and 4's and preschool retarded (preschool teachers and other child-serving professions). Child Development majors number currently 300.	M.S. in Human Development (majority of students concentrate in Child Study), (program presently being studied for revisionary change - only 10 students). Doctoral study in Child or Human Development.
Wheaton College	B.A. in Education with Kindergarten-Elementary Education Certificate: possible through an additional summer program of courses offered at Wheaton but not credited - toward their degree, 2 courses for credit - Early Childhood Education - 2 semesters; Supervised practice in Early Childhood - one semester	None

Degree Programs (cont'd.):

Four Year	Graduate
Wheelock College	
B.S. in Education, Nursery-Kindergarten-Primary major; also: special training projects within the degree program related to Head Start Regional Training and WIN Career development include major focus on disadvantaged and/or infants, toddlers and young children in family or group day care settings	Ed.M., Nursery-Kindergarten-Primary major

Degree Programs: Entitled "Kindergarten-Elementary" but primarily Elementary Education Certification oriented and not early childhood focus

Anna Maria College
An Early Childhood concentration; Kindergarten through Grade 3, within Elementary Education degree--not really Kindergarten Education however

Boston College
Boston State College
Boston University
Bridgewater State College
Fitchburg State College
1970 area of ECE specialization; 1971 expanding to 4-yr. degree program

Framingham State College
(under revision currently) developing 4-yrd. degree: ECE specialization

Gordon College
Lowell State College
Mt. Holyoke College
M.A.T. with emphasis on Elementary Education, not Child Study, Child Development or Early Childhood. Child Study Center (lab - preschool) in Psychology Department courses offered - "Development in Early Childhood," "Development of Preschool Program."

North Adams State College
Developmental Psychology, "clinical experience" in preschool and primary

Westfield State College
Kindergarten through Grade 3 certificate

Worcester State College
About to relate present Kindergarten-Elementary program to an area of ECE specialization

Degree Programs (continued):

Currently being planned but not yet activated

Berkshire Community College and North Adams State College
Related 2-year and 4-year degree programs in early childhood

Dean Jr. College
Social Science Department program to "develop para-professionals for the Day Care Center field.....to include field work at nursery schools, kindergartens, Day Care centers, etc." 1971 preschool coordinator appointed to faculty, has begun to offer related courses in ECE field.

Courses - No Degree but Credit toward a Degree

Fragmented

Atlantic Union College
Education 132, 4 hours, Early Childhood Education, "curriculum and materials appropriate for use in nursery school, kindergarten and primary elementary grades ...play materials and learning," also lab period

Berkshire Community College
Psychology 140, Child Psych., "normal child...birth through age 12 with emphasis on 1-5"

Boston University College of Liberal Arts
Child Psychology

Cape Cod Community College
Child Psychology 211, "the process of growth and development from the prenatal period to puberty"

Clark University
Child Psychology

Clustered (learning sequence)

Brandeis University
Psychology Department accepts special students for one year; lab preschool experience courses in "Learning and Thinking"; Child Psych., Social Psych., supervised practice and seminar related to it (preschool level)

Harvard University Extension
Day Care, 2 related courses: one, Child Development or Curriculum;? one, administration of Day Care: no labs or internships

Mt. Wachusett Community College

North Shore Community College
10 credits for teacher aides; also in-service education for Day Care aides

Radcliffe College Seminars
4 related courses: administration of day care services "...designed to equip women to become day care administrators or teachers," (no internships - some observation: some supervised practice may be arranged.

Courses - No Degree but Credit toward a Degree (cont'd.)

Fragmented

Carry College
Education 304, Child and Adolescent Development

Greenfield Community College
Sometimes offers evening courses when there is demand

Northern Essex Community College
Children's Literature, Child Psychology, "behavioral child development," age range

Simon's Rock
"Volunteer practicum" in behavior development of children

Stonehill College
Child Development

Wellesley College
Course in Child Development and related research in the Psychology Department. Child Study Center (lab: preschool working with 3 and 4 yr. olds used for observation and research

Clustered (learning sequence)

Springfield College
30 hours in Early Childhood Education, 30 hours in Community Group Dynamics, (2 yr. certificate) Head Start Supplementary Training Program

University of Massachusetts at Amherst
Head Start leadership training program, community action orientation with some ECE input

Wheelock College
Supplementary Training Program; 60-point certificate for paraprofessionals

Non-Degree Programs; Non-Degree Credit Courses

Vocational Education (High School level)

The programs for early childhood education aides and assistants in high schools throughout the Commonwealth, under the aegis of Department of Vocational Education with eight more planned: Mrs. Jean Marks, Director. Also, David Hale Fanning Trade School for Girls, Worcester: program for preschool aides and assistants with supervised practice in its own laboratory preschool and varied community facilities serving preschool-age children. Also, Cambridge High and Latin, Brookline High, Day Jr. High (Newton), Newton South.

Adult Education (Post High School)

Courses in Early Childhood Education co-sponsored with the Department of Public Health for fulfillment of Day Care licensing requirements; designed to strengthen and improve the early childhood education component of Day Care. The courses considered basic include

Adult Education (Post High School, cont'd.):

a supervised field experience, covering two related basics; other basic courses offered are "Child Development," "Orientation to Early Childhood Education," "Creative Experiences with Young Children" and "Family, School and Community Interaction," and "Program Planning for Young Children." "Administering Agencies for Young Children" is offered on request of 15 or more students, but is not considered a basic course.

Women's Education and Industrial Union, Boston
Training program: Family Day Care Mothers

Middlesex Community College: Continuing Education Division
"Preschool Education in the Home" (non-credit)
: Day Division
Planning now in ECE area: contact John Kendricks for details

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[2] Denotes programs for paraprofessionals

[3] Denotes major component Sociology

NOTE A9-1

SOME ORGANIZATIONS CONCERNED WITH CHILDREN'S SERVICES*

Agencies Affiliated with State Government

Executive Office for Administration and Finance

Office of Program Planning and Coordination
100 Cambridge Street
Boston, Massachusetts 02202

Governor's Advisory Committee on Child Development
100 Cambridge Street
Boston, Massachusetts 02202

Governor's Advisory Council on Home and Family
151 Tremont Street
Boston, Massachusetts

Comprehensive Health Planning
100 Cambridge Street
Boston, Massachusetts 02202

Bureau of Developmental Disabilities
100 Cambridge Street
Boston, Massachusetts 02202

Cooperative Area Manpower Planning
100 Cambridge Street
Boston, Massachusetts 02202

Executive Office of Communities and Development

Department of Community Affairs
141 Milk Street
Boston, Massachusetts 02109

Massachusetts Housing and Finance Association
45 School Street
Boston, Massachusetts

Department of Commerce and Development
100 Cambridge Street
Boston, Massachusetts 02202

Executive Office of Educational Affairs

Department of Education
182 Tremont Street
Boston, Massachusetts 02111

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*Functions of some of these agencies are described in Chapter Nine.

Agencies Affiliated with State Government (cont'd.)

Day Care Advisory Committee
182 Tremont Street
Boston, Massachusetts 02111

Board of Higher Education
182 Tremont Street
Boston, Massachusetts 02111

Executive Office of Human Services

Department of Public Health
Family Health Services
488 Tremont Street
Boston, Massachusetts

Day Care Advisory Unit
88 Broad Street
Boston, Massachusetts

Massachusetts Committee on Children and Youth
9 Newbury Street
Boston, Massachusetts 02116

Department of Public Welfare
600 Washington Street
Boston, Massachusetts

Department of Mental Health
190 Portland Street
Boston, Massachusetts 02116

Health and Welfare Commission
25 Huntington Avenue
Boston, Massachusetts

Rehabilitation Commission
296 Boylston Street
Boston, Massachusetts 02116

Executive Office of Manpower Affairs

Division of Employment Security
Charles F. Hurley Building
Government Center
Boston, Massachusetts 02214

Executive Office of Public Safety

Department of Public Safety
1010 Commonwealth Avenue
Boston, Massachusetts 02215

Some Key Executive, Legislative and Administrative Leaders in State Government

State House, Boston, Massachusetts:

Governor Francis W. Sargent
Senate President Kevin B. Harrington
Speaker of the House David M. Bartley
Chairman of Social Welfare Committee: Senator Jack H. Backman
Chairman of Education Committee: Senator Mary Fonseca
Secretary of Educational Affairs: Joseph M. Cronin
Secretary of Human Services: Peter Goldmark
Secretary of Manpower Affairs: Mary Newman

Affiliated with Federal Government

Office of Child Development, Region I
John F. Kennedy Federal Building
Government Center
Boston, Massachusetts

New England Materials Instruction Center
Boston University
704 Commonwealth Avenue
Boston, Massachusetts

Affiliated with Boston City Government

Mayor's Office on Human Rights
Boston City Hall
Boston, Massachusetts

Non-government Organizations (statewide)

League of Women Voters of Massachusetts
120 Boylston Street
Boston, Massachusetts

Massachusetts Conference on Social Welfare
419 Boylston Street
Boston, Massachusetts

Massachusetts Law Reform Institute
2 Park Square
Boston, Massachusetts

Massachusetts Welfare Rights Organization
17 Brookline Street
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Massachusetts Statewide Parents Association of Head Start
Thelma Peters
360 Mt. Vernon Street
Dorchester, Massachusetts

Non-government Organizations (statewide, cont'd.)

National Organization for Women
45 Newbury Street
Boston, Massachusetts

National Education Association
20 Ashburton Place
Boston, Massachusetts

Non-government Organizations (local)

Action for Boston Community Development
150 Tremont Street
Boston, Massachusetts

All local Community Action Programs (such as ABCD)

Associated Day Care Services of Metropolitan Boston
14 Somerset Street
Boston, Massachusetts

Boston Association for the Education of Young Children
Mrs. Dorothy Sang
25 Thatcher Street
Brookline, Massachusetts

Cambridge Day Care Association
99 Austin Street
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Cambridge Child Care Referendum Committee
552 Massachusetts Avenue, #7
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Cambridge-Somerville Catholic Charities
99 Austin Street
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Coalition for Children
P.O. Box 85
Newton Center, Massachusetts

Merrimack Valley Association for the Education of Young Children
Mrs. Dorothy Kemp
R.F.D. #2, Box 1150
Chester, New Hampshire 03036

Montachusett Association for the Education of Young Children
Mrs. Bertha Treyz
Hill Road, Boxborough
R.F.D., Acton, Massachusetts

Non-government Organizations (local, cont'd.)

Southeastern Massachusetts Association for the Education of Young Children
Mrs. Elizabeth Stefani
Winter Street
Duxbury, Massachusetts 02332

Western Massachusetts Association for the Education of Young Children
Terrence Dumas
38 Butterfield Terrace, #31
Amherst, Massachusetts 01002

Worcester Area Association for the Education of Young Children
Mrs. Evelyn Brousseau
40 Highland Street
Auburn, Massachusetts 01501

Women's Educational and Industrial Union
264 Boylston Street
Boston, Massachusetts

United Community Services
14 Somerset Street
Boston, Massachusetts

National Organizations

Appalachian Regional Commission
1666 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20009

Association for Childhood Education International
3615 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20016
(202) 363-6963

Black Child Development Institute, Inc.
1028 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Suite 306
Washington, D.C. 20036
(202) 296-7565

Child Welfare League of America
67 Irving Place
New York, New York 10003
(212) 254-7410

Children's Lobby
Mr. Jules Sugarman
112 East 19th Street
New York, New York 10003

Day Care and Child Development Council of America
1426 H Street, N.W., Suite 340
Washington, D.C. 20005
(202) 638-2316

National Organizations (cont'd.)

Educational Facilities Laboratory
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Elementary, Kindergarten and Nursery Education
National Education Association
1201 16th Street
Washington, D.C. 20009

National Association for the Education of Young Children
1834 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20009
(202) 232-8777

National Council of Jewish Women
1 West 47th Street
New York, New York 10036

National Parent Federation
Washington, D.C.

Parent Cooperative Preschools International
20551 Lakeshore Road
Baie d'Urfe
Quebec, Canada

Women's Bureau, U.S. Department of Labor
14th and Constitution Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20210
(202) 393-2420

Regional Sources of Day Care Licensing and Program Information

Central: Day Care Advisory Unit,
Massachusetts Department of Public Health
88 Broad Street
Boston, Massachusetts
(617) 727-5196
  Coordinator of Day Care Services: Mrs. Hedwig M. Sorli
  Specialist in Early Childhood Education: Mrs. Bernice Factor
  Nursing Advisor: Miss Alice T. Morrison

Regional:
  Advisory and Licensing Staff

Northeastern region: Tewksbury Hospital
Tewksbury, Massachusetts
(617) 851-7261
  Day Care Coordinator: Mr. Merrill Plunkett
  Specialist in ECE: Mrs. Deborah Hall

Southeastern region: Lakeville Hospital
Middleboro, Massachusetts
(617) 947-1060
Day Care Coordinator: Mrs. Ruth Murphy
Specialist in ECE: Mrs. Helen Wiley

Central Region: Rutland Heights Hospital
Rutland, Massachusetts
(617) 886-6111
Day Care Coordinator: Mrs. Agnes Keleher

Western Region: University of Massachusetts, Amherst
Amherst, Massachusetts
(413) 545-2563
Day Care Coordinator: Mrs. Anna M. Leahey

APPENDIX B

INTERIM REPORT
ON
REGIONAL CHILD CARE MEETINGS

TO

Francis W. Sargent	Kevin B. Harrington
Governor	Senate President

Submitted July 15, 1971

Massachusetts Early Education Project
Harvard University
Nichols House, Appian Way
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

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Summary of Major Issues of Regional Child Care Meetings

Summary

of Major Issues of Regional Child Care Meetings

Issues raised most frequently, or most energetically, in the meetings were the need for:

1) financial subsidies, including sliding scales for parents to enable all income groups to have child care;

2) coordination and accountability of child care services;

3) information about child care and assistance in developing child care services;

4) flexible and diverse kinds of child care services including after-school care;

5) staff training and certification of staff on the basis of successful performance rather than primarily on academic training;

6) strong parental involvement in child care including parent education and participation at all levels of planning and policy making;

7) public education about the need for child care and the different kinds of services which can be developed by parents and communities.

Many important issues were raised in the meetings which should be taken into account in planning for child care. For convenience of presentation major issues have been grouped into categories.

Information Services: Planning and Coordination

1. The need for a single system from which one can get correct and consistent information about child care was frequently mentioned and strongly expressed. Many mentioned the current lack of coordination among various agencies responsible for different aspects of child care services. There were repeated requests for a single accountable service from which one could get a comprehensive response regarding such things as standards, rules and regulations, certification, licensing, consultation, evaluation to monitoring, funding and referral services.

Licensing and Regulation

2. Common licensing regulations and standards uniformly applied by state government were repeatedly requested. Several spoke against the delegation of licensing responsibility to local authorities. There seems to be a feeling that state officials tend to be more fully informed about and flexible in applying rules and regulations than local officials and that delegation of licensing functions to local authorities often leads to prolonged delays or to rigid application of rules to programs. Other items mentioned included the need for widely available correct information about rules and regulations and the desirability of a formal procedure for provisional licenses for day centers and family day care which will allow programs to operate while upgrading their services to meet the formal requirements.

Kinds of Child Care

3. The need for the state to recognize and support the development of diverse types of child care, providing as wide a range of options as possible for individual parents and providing assistance to parents' groups in initiating their own programs was raised. There was emphasis on the need for a comprehensive range of services to meet the many different kinds of needs children have. Suggestions included mutli-age groups, infant care, after-school care, flexible and odd-hour care, care for children with special needs within programs for normal children, and provision for emergency care.

4. Alternatives to day care centers should be explored such as family day care systems, child care assistance for parents to care for their own children, day care centers in high schools, child care as a omponent of community school programs, according to several speakers.

Child Care: Facilities and Space

5. The need for more child-care space and funds to make additional facilities available were mentioned. This seemed to be an urgent problem for some groups, although it was not consistently raised in all meetings.

Staff Training and Certification

6. Training and certification of staff was generally seen as a key to good child care. Several requested assistance in developing standards for good child care training: what kind of training, how much, and at what level. The need for a meaningful career development ladder which can provide job mobility was also raised.

7. In-service training providing a continual upgrading of staff was strongly supported in all meetings as a priority need. Other suggestions included the need to establish demonstration projects where quality child care can be observed, the need for additional training opportunities for child care workers throughout the state at both the college and high school level, and the need for state resource people available to help community groups with in-service training.

Parent Education and Involvement

8. Parent education: ways to help parents determine what is good child care, and how to strengthen their family was seen as a high priority. Information for parents and training courses, possibly using broadcast TV as well as cable and cassette media was suggested. The training of high school students in how to be a good parent was also mentioned as a definite need.

9. There was a general feeling that parents should be involved at all levels of child care, including the planning and policy-making levels as well as the providing of child care.

Public Education and Advocacy

10. The general public was described as uninformed about the costs and needs for quality child care and public education for support of the diversity of child-care programs was suggested. The general public and the legislature are seen as being under-informed about the size of the need and the kinds of programs which should be provided.

11. Child advocates who would be independent of government agencies and who could provide a continuing focus on the needs of children and the effects of both public and private agency policies upon child development were suggested by several speakers.

Child Care Costs and Funding

12. The need for funding for child care was raised as a major problem in all meetings. A premise which was made explicit at each meeting was that state government is not now in a position to provide major funding for the operational costs of child care except for a modest percentage of the population with special needs. In addition to the general need for funding, which hopefully will come from the federal government, the following suggestions were made:

13. Sliding fee scales should be established so as to integrate income levels, rather than having only the children of poor families in child care centers. This would also allow mothers to work and to continue to have child care.

14. Funding procedures should be greatly simplified and attention should be given to the development of ways to get funds to local groups rather than having them absorbed by the government bureaucracy.

15. Seed money for one-time-only start up costs and funds to allow local parents' groups to plan and organize their own child care programs were suggested as being of high priority.

16. The need for legislation to allow the use of donated funds to match Title IV-A of the Federal Social Security Act was mentioned in every meeting. For a variety of local reasons Massachusetts has not taken aggressive advantage of this unusually flexible and open-ended piece of federal legislation. At several meetings fairly strong feelings were expressed about the need for legislative action in this area.

Working Mothers and Child Care

17. The provision of multi-age care for working mothers, including after-school care, so that all of their children can be cared for during the hours in which they work was frequently mentioned.

18. A provision which would allow the working poor to continue to retain child-care subsidies for at least the first year of their employment rather than removing child-care benefits from them at the time they begin work was requested. This seems to be a major incentive against mothers taking employment and leaving the welfare rolls.

Child Care: Relationship to the Public Schools

19. The impact of child care on kindergarten and the public schools was frequently mentioned. Several speakers stated the need to restructure the schools to take account of the increasing sophistication of children entering schools.

20. After-school care including transportation was mentioned as a high priority for school-age children, especially of working mothers.

21. The possibility of a comprehensive community education program centered around local elementary schools providing services for all ages was suggested and is being tried out in some school systems on a limited basis. It was felt that such plans should be encouraged and information about them widely disseminated throughout the state.

Background Information
for Regional Child Care Meetings

BACKGROUND INFORMATION FOR REGIONAL CHILD CARE MEETINGS: June 20-July 1, 1971

Governor Francis W. Sargent and Senate President Kevin B. Harrington sponsored a set of ten regional meetings throughout the Commonwealth to discuss recommendations for the development of the State's role in child care.

Participants from **many** areas of the State responded to the question: What are the child care needs of your community?

The meetings were organized by the Massachusetts Early Education Project (MEEP) based at Harvard University and directed by Dr. Richard R. Rowe, Associate Dean of the Harvard Graduate School of Education. MEEP is funded by the Massachusetts Advisory Council on Education (MACE), directed by William Gaige.

A printed brochure, stating the sponsorship and purpose of the child care meetings and listing the time and location of all ten meetings was widely distributed to parents, community leaders, elected officials, child care providers and concerned citizens (see appendix for schedule of meetings).

The advance mailing list included a broad range of groups and individuals concerned with child care in Massachusetts, including all day care services currently licensed by the Department of Public Health; the full membership of the Governor's Advisory Committee on Child Development, Massachusetts legislators; Massachusetts School Superintendents and many others (see appendix for complete mailing list).

A MEEP staff member, assigned to each meeting, conducted advance planning meetings at each location throughout the Commonwealth, involving numerous local groups and individuals in designing the focus of the meetings: broad statement of community needs and priorities.

The meetings were held in the evenings from 7:30-10 P.M. to encourage fullest participation.

The Massachusetts Early Education Project decided to hold the child care meetings at or near State and Community Colleges. These institutions are currently providing diverse training opportunities for child care personnel and are highly interested in increased State support of training opportunities for work with young children.

The general format for each meeting included:

I. Broad discussion of community needs and priorities in child care.

II. The Role of Government (State and Federal), current and potential.

Dr. Richard R. Rowe, Director of MEEP and Mrs. Gwen Morgan, Executive Secretary of the Governor's Advisory Committee on Child Development participated in each meeting. Dr. Rowe summarized the community needs identified and led the discussion of State and Federal involvement in child care. Mrs. Morgan presented a summary of current government structure relating to child care and explained the content of major Federal legislation on child care and how it relates to Massachusetts.

Massachusetts Senators and Representatives participated as chairmen and contributed to the discussion of child care needs.

Governor Sargent and Senate President Harrington were represented by Jeff Pollock and Marjorie Schiller at many meetings, and also by appointed community representatives. State agencies currently involved with child care were represented at many meetings, including the Department of Community Affairs, the Department of Education, the Department of Public Health, the Department of Mental Health, and the Department of Public Welfare. There was representation from the Massachusetts Advisory Council on Education, State, community and private colleges, local labor councils, National Organization for Women, Headstart, Model Cities and broad representation of present consumers of child care and current and potential providers of child care.

(BACKGROUND INFORMATION Cont'd)

The total number of people attending the ten child care meetings was 656.

Each person attending was asked to fill out a Massachusetts Child Care Directory Card (see appendix) and was asked to indicate: if they wanted to be included in a general child care mailing list and if they are willing to work on child care legislation.

Synopsis of Regional Meetings

June 20, 1971

WATERTOWN: MASSACHUSETTS BAY COMMUNITY COLLEGE

Mrs. Geraldine O'Sullivan, Chairman and Moderator, Department of Child Development, Wellesley College

Representative Paul Merton

Dr. Richard R. Rowe, Associate Dean, Harvard Graduate School of Education; Director, Massachusetts Early Education Project

Mrs. Gwen Morgan, Executive Secretary, Governor's Advisory Committee on Child Development

Many concerned parents attended the Child Care Meeting in Watertown. Strong feelings were expressed that child care should be planned to meet the needs of the total family. Mothers with children between ages three and five often have younger and older children. There is a need for infant care and after-school facilities. Preference for small group care was expressed.

More child care is needed than is available in their communities. Consistent information services are needed, especially for start-up procedures and to help to utilize present and potential resources. Flexible, helpful licensing assistance is needed. Locally delegated authorities often impose standards more rigid than those of the State. Local citizens want to find out how to get a survey done of the needs in their area. Parents want guarantees for local control and diversity. They want to choose the type of care that best meets their family needs.

The costs of child care were seen as a major problem. Work incentive for mothers is lacking when costs for care are so high. Programs should not segregate children by special need or income. A major effort should be made to educate the public about the varied needs for child care and the characteristics of quality programs to serve all children. Several parents felt that child care should be a public responsibility.

June 21, 1971

WORCESTER: QUINSIGAMOND COMMUNITY COLLEGE

Senator Daniel J. Foley, Chairman

Warren McManus, Moderator, Director of Rehabilitation Center; Chairman of Worcester Area 4-C

Dean Paul Ryan, Quinsigamond Community College

Francis X. Naughton, St. Agnes Guild Day Care Center, Worcester

Mrs. Judy Cortesi, parent involved in Pilot Day Care Center, Housing Project

Tom Barrows, Senate President Harrington's Office Representative

Dr. Richard R. Rowe, Associate Dean, Harvard Graduate School of Education; Director, Massachusetts Early Education Project

Mrs. Gwen Morgan, Executive Secretary, Governor's Advisory Committee on Child Development

Many private and proprietary providers of child care attended the Worcester meeting. Fears were expressed that Federal funding at a high level will threaten the existence of private services. "Quality control" and rigid guidelines from distant levels of government are to be avoided.

Day care centers have long waiting lists; more child care is needed for a broad range of needs--infant care, after-school care, care for children with special needs. Comprehensive services (educational, medical, social) are needed. Parents want freedom to develop programs to meet the particular needs of their communities. Purchase of services from community groups should be encouraged. Quinsigamond Community College has planned with the community to create an associate degree program for child care personnel.

The need for correct technical information, especially for start-up procedures, was expressed. Citizens want help with planning and initial costs. Consistently enforced rules and regulations on licensing are currently lacking. The delegation of licensing to local authorities was questioned.

(WORCESTER Cont'd)

A representative of the Worcester Labor Council stated the council's position: no mother should be forced to leave her children to work, but day care should be available if she chooses to work. Participants favored sliding-fee scales and subsidies for those who can pay only part of the costs of child care.

Massachusetts has failed to use Title IV A funds of the Social Security Acts which have been available since 1967. We must work to remove the legal obstacles to the use of donated funds.

June 22, 1971

HAVERHILL: NORTHERN ESSEX COMMUNITY COLLEGE

Senator James Rurak, Chairman

Dean Donald Ruhl, Northern Essex Community College

Dr. Michael Malamud, Director, Northern Essex Mental Health Center

Mrs. Allen Tye, President of the Board, Haverhill Day Nursery

Mr. Charles LoPiano, Director, Lawrence Community Action Council

Mr. William Dow, Haverhill Community Action Commission

Mrs. Adele Ash, representing Senate President Harrington

Mrs. Jean Shellene, representing Governor Sargent

Dr. Richard R. Rowe, Associate Dean, Harvard Graduate School of Education; Director, Massachusetts Early Education Project

Mrs. Gwen Morgan, Executive Secretary, Governor's Advisory Committee on Child Development

A broad group of child care providers, parents, students in child care training programs and local agency people were represented at the Haverhill meeting.

The need was expressed for increased physical facilities for a variety of child care needs: infant care, children with special needs, after-school care. The concept of multi-service centers providing comprehensive child care, including counseling for parents was favored. Transportation to and from child care facilities is essential. There was evidence of a large gap between needs and available services.

The role of an "advocate" for children was discussed. Agencies should be coordinated in the interests of children. Public education is needed for there to be a clear definition of child care among agencies, parents, citizens.

(HAVERHILL Cont'd)

Child care training was a priority item at this meeting. Northern Essex Community College is involved in designing a broad child care associate degree program to begin in September, 1971. Many concerns were voiced about the content, quality and availability of child care training an the credentialing of staff. It was felt that "qualified adults" are needed for child care programs. Training and experience (not just degrees) should be considered. The importance of sensitivity to children was stressed.

The community indicated a need for outside help in planning for and meeting their child care needs. Interest was expressed in how to organize a 4-C group.

June 23, 1971

FITCHBURG: FITCHBURG STATE COLLEGE

Tom Passios, Moderator, Director of Northeast Regional Office of the Department of Education; resident of Lunenberg

Dr. Laurence Quigley, Fitchburg State College

Mrs. Evelyn Kind, Headstart Parent-Coordinator, Templeton-Athol

Mrs. Diane Brodsky, Director of Day Care, Children's Aid and Family Service Society, Fitchburg

Dr. Richard R. Rowe, Associate Dean, Harvard Graduate School of Education; Director, Massachusetts Early Education Project

Mrs. Gwen Morgan, Executive Secretary, Governor's Advisory Committee on Child Development

Attendance at the Fitchburg meeting included providers of child care, particularly Headstart, representatives of the local public schools, State College, community agencies and parents.

Geography and circumstances were outstanding concerns. Should living in an isolated area without many resources mean deprivation of quality care? The need for equal opportunity in all areas of the State was clearly stated. Areas which are not large urban areas or wealthy suburbs should have the same opportunities for quality programs as other areas. A lack of leadership, staff resources and "sophisticated skills" needed to write proposals was felt. Three generations of the same poverty families are being worked with in Headstart.

Child care is expensive. Public education is needed to know why you need to spend so much on a little child and why child care is necessary.

Training for parents and pre-parents in early childhood education is needed, perhaps at the High School level. The feeling was expressed that, "we all need to learn how to enjoy a child's childhood." Parents are

(FITCHBURG Cont'd)

delighted to have someone to help take care of their children. Child care strengthens family life. We need to get parents to the point where they would use services, even if they are made available. Transportation to care helps families to use services. Parent involvement (the Headstart model was cited) is essential for effective child care programs.

Coordination and integration of available resources is necessary.

Staff training and resource support are needed for all areas of the State, and could be based at State and Community Colleges.

June 24, 1971

FALL RIVER: BRISTOL COMMUNITY COLLEGE

Jack P. Hudnall, Chairman, President, Bristol Community College

Aaron Mittleman, factory owner

Leo Gargarta, Department of Public Welfare

Daniel M. Kelly, Project CASE, Coordinator, Special Education, Fall River

Dr. Richard R. Rowe, Associate Dean, Harvard Graduate School of Education; Director, Massachusetts Early Education Project

Mrs. Gwen Morgan, Executive Secretary, Governor's Advisory Committee on Child Development

Many mothers in the southeast part of Massachusetts are working out of necessity. Child care costs are high. If a mother goes off welfare, she cannot afford the child care which made it possible for her to go to work. Many mothers would like to work. A sliding fee scale is needed so that all their earnings do not have to go into paying for child care.

Parent education is needed to increase understanding of the values good child care has to offer children and families. Quality child care is only worthwhile if parents are ready to use services.

A major need is for an adequate system to distribute information on child development, on kinds of programs which might be developed, on procedures and guidelines, on sources of funding, on developments in legislation which vitally affect child care. Need was expressed for "one place to go" for all this information.

Diversity of child care is discouraged by conflicting guidelines and rigid policies of funding sources. Parents should be involved to develop the different kinds of care that are needed. Staff training is needed, not only for centers, but for family day care. TV and night school could develop programs to help mothers providing care in the home who need child care education.

(FALL RIVER Cont'd)

State policy should recognize that there are differences in different parts of the state, and assist with solutions to meet local needs rather than trying to impose a central system. The State could provide expertise and technical assistance to all the programs in an area. Local community colleges should be included.

The need for consistent guidelines for Federal and State policy for child care was stressed. Coordination among agencies and correct information is essential. Provisional licenses were suggested to allow new centers and family day care time to meet new standards. To insist that all requirements are met before providing any service discourages the development of needed services.

Something positive must happen as a result of 4-C organization. Funds are needed. The southeast area of the state is disillusioned by too many promises.

June 27, 1971

FRAMINGHAM: FRAMINGHAM STATE COLLEGE

Senator Edward L. Burke, Chairman

Mrs. Margaret Davitt, Director of Headstart, Framingham

Mrs. Inez Shamey, parent, Quincy

Mrs. Elaine McGrail, parent, Quincy

Dr. Richard R. Rowe, Associate Dean, Harvard Graduate School of Education; Director, Massachusetts Early Education Project

Mrs. Gwen Morgan, Executive Secretary, Governor's Advisory Committee on Child Development

Many consumers and providers of child care attended the Framingham meeting. Neighborhood-based programs which meet many needs should be planned. The system should allow local planning with the greatest flexibility and diversity of program models: group centers, family day care in homes, multi-age care, play groups, after-school care, etc. Staff training is needed, especially for family day care. Local high schools could be a good base for training. Development of workable credentials and a career ladder concept were thought to be important.

Anxiety was expressed about the effect of publicly funded child care programs or private nursery schools. We must avoid pricing service beyond the parent's ability to pay.

Financial help is needed for working families who are presently excluded from public policy. A sliding fee scale would help to integrate all income levels.

Delegation of State licensing authority to local cities and towns was questioned. Local authorities often lack expertise and interpret regulations differently. Parents should be involved in policing and monitoring child care programs.

(FRAMINGHAM Cont'd)

A central concern was the need for one place to go for basic information on costs, procedures, how to get licensed, sources of funding. A resource center on the State level was suggested.

Interested citizens need a way to maintain continuing communication with others interested in child care.

June 28, 1971

PITTSFIELD: BERKSHIRE COMMUNITY COLLEGE

Representative Thomas Wojtkowski, Chairman

Ron Smith, Berkshire Community College

Mrs. Nadine Kalt, parent, Williamstown

Miss Mary England, The Little School, Pittsfield

Chuck Hayes, United Community Services, Pittsfield

Mrs. Janet Cook, interested citizen, Pittsfield

Dr. Richard R. Rowe, Associate Dean, Harvard Graduate School of Education; Director, Massachusetts Early Education Project

Mrs. Gwen Morgan, Executive Secretary, Governor's Advisory Committee on Child Development

A priority issue at the Pittsfield meeting was the need to provide before- and after-school care for the school age child. There are some programs children could participate in but there is need for a responsible person to oversee the child's total experience. Transportation was identified as a factor here which prevents mothers from being able to accept full-time employment. Location of care is important.

Many kinds of child care are needed with flexible hours: infant care, emergency care, care for children with special needs. There are many needs for child care, not just to allow mothers to work. Parent understanding of child development is essential. Give mothers a chance to develop themselves. Sometimes because of poor health or feelings of inadequacy, mothers need help with their children. Parent and public education is needed to understand what constitutes quality child care.

Access to basic information about child care was seen as a very great need. A resource center was suggested where information from all departments could be centralized. Good referral services are needed to locate child care spaces when they are available. Uniformly enforced standards are essential.

(PITTSFIELD Cont'd)

A sliding fee scale is needed to allow the working mother who is neither rich enough to pay the full cost or poor enough for subsidy to get good care for her children while she works.

Staff training, especially in-service training is needed, as well as good criteria for selecting quality staff. Support development of a diverse range of child care services with local options and local control. More men are needed in the child care field.

June 29, 1971

HOLYOKE: HOLYOKE COMMUNITY COLLEGE

Mrs. Susan Dwight, Chairman

Dr. Paul Green, Holyoke Community College, Moderator

Mrs. Sally Curtis, Springfield Day Nursery

Mrs. Mary Ann O'Neill, Northampton Headstart

Mrs. Lolite Turner, parent, Springfield 4-C

Mrs. Nancy Clark, Holyoke 4-C

Dr. Richard R. Rowe, Associate Dean, Harvard Graduate School of Education; Director, Massachusetts Early Education Project

Mrs. Gwen Morgan, Executive Secretary, Governor's Advisory Committee on Child Development

A broad range of interests in child care was represented at the Holyoke meeting: parents, providers, 4-C representatives, community agencies, representatives of the executive and the legislature, concerned citizens.

More child care is needed for people seeking service. Many kinds of care are needed: infant care, before- and after-school care, care for children with special needs, as well as child care for three-to five-year-olds.

It was seen as a government responsibility to help to provide healthy, safe, nuturing care for children, if the family is not able. Child care offers needed support to families.

High costs are a central issue in child care. Mothers can't afford to stay off welfare because they cannot find and afford adequate care. A sliding fee scale is needed to make child care available to all families.

Enabling legislation is needed to allow the Welfare Department to accept donated funds to match Title IV A of the Social Security amendments.

(HOLYOKE Cont'd)

There was concern that government legislation will take over parents responsibilities. Parents should be involved at all levels in child care programs. Parents' rights should be protected by having parents as a majority of the governing boards of child care programs. Provide support for existing private centers. Encourage a mix of economic groups in child care.

The special needs of rural areas were clearly stated. It was suggested that demonstration projects be established in regional high schools, coordinated with resources at local colleges to meet the needs of rural families and to include child care in the education of high school students.

June 30, 1971

BOSTON: BOSTON STATE COLLEGE

Senator Jack H. Backman, Chairman and Moderator

Paul Parks, Director, Boston Model Cities

Melissa Tillman, Day Care Licensing: Department of Public Health, City of Boston

Virginia Burke, Family Day Care Center, Cambridge

Dr. Richard R. Rowe, Associate Dean, Harvard Graduate School of Education; Director, Massachusetts Early Education Project

Mrs. Gwen Morgan, Executive Secretary, Governor's Advisory Committee on Child Development

The conviction was expressed at the Boston meeting that child care should be available to all families who need it, whether working families or families receiving welfare. Day care centers ought to be free, like the public schools. Care is needed from ages 0-18. There is a need for an income waiver to open eligibility to low income people not on welfare.

Public education is needed to develop a community constituency for child care. Organized expertise is needed to support child care legislation and to support the development of diverse locally controlled programs for your children. It was felt that parents have the right to control institutions which affect the lives of their children.

A coalition of groups and individuals involved in child care is needed so we can get together and don't end up fighting each other.

Massachusetts is obstructing the use of Federal funds to meet child care needs by not allowing the use of donated funds to match Title IV A of the Social Security amendments. Title IV A funds would enable the Welfare Department to be able to serve past, present and potential welfare recipients. (There is currently a waiver in the Model Cities area.)

Good program models for child care are needed, as are mechanisms to evaluate services provided. Career ladders and credentialing are needed in the child care field. More men should be included in child care. Licensing should provide clear, consistent regulations, uniformly enforced.

A basic set of standards is needed across the State to develop quality child care.

July 1, 1971

SALEM: SALEM STATE COLLEGE

Senate President Kevin B. Harrington, Chairman

Dr. Carl D. Smith, Moderator, Director of Child Care, Salem State College

Dr. Frank L. Keegan, President, Salem State College

Dr. Mary Procopio, Director of Early Childhood Education, Salem
State College

Nan McGuire, Director of Headstart, Lynn

Reverend Everett Kuder and Students, Salem State College Day Care

Alice Mathis, parent, Peabody

Kay Green, parent, Haverhill

Jean Leyden, parent, Lynn

Dr. Richard R. Rowe, Associate Dean, Harvard Graduate School of
Education; Director, Massachusetts Early Education
Project

Mrs. Gwen Morgan, Executive Secretary, Governor's Advisory Committee
on Child Development

The Salem State College community was broadly represented at the Salem meeting, as were other community groups involved in child care. Many participants are actively involved in working to provide child care on campus and are students in early childhood and day care training programs at the College.

Student parents described their experiences in trying to start a child care program. They wanted a quality program for their children. Students wanted to run the program themselves but they lacked credentials. Correct information was difficult to obtain. They felt that the rules meant to protect you often work against you. They found great interest in helping a child care program and were able to get many services donated. Parents learned a lot from each other, and could better enjoy their own children.

People need one place to go for help with child care. Now the system provides many obstacles. We need to bring together the fragmented activities of State and Federal agencies. Resources must be coordinated. Agencies should work together to focus on children. Information should be available to all who need it.

Standards must be administered with flexibility. Consultation and funds need to be available to new groups trying to get child care started. We need creative funding to preserve the spontenaity of individual programs.

Many types of care are needed: infant care, after-school care, night and day care, child care for mothers in training, family day care as well as groups. Parents should be involved at all levels of program development.

The Headstart concept of staff development should be expanded. Career ladders and supplementary training are essential. It was suggested that credentials be developed for ages 2-9. This could be done through the 4-C mechanism where agencies and school systems can plan together. This requires not only a sharing of interests but also a sharing of power.

Table Summarizing Priority Categories

TABLE OF PRIORITY CATEGORIES

Legend:

X = Low Priority
XX = Medium Priority
XXX = High Priority

	MEETING:									
CATEGORY OF NEED:	Watertown	Worcester	Haverhill	Fitchburg	Fall River	Framingham	Pittsfield	Holyoke	Boston	Salem
Information and Services: Planning and Coordination	XX	XX	XX	X	XXX	XXX	XXX	XX	XXX	XXX
Licensing and Regulation	X	XXX	X	X	XX	X	X	X	XX	XX
Kinds of Child Care	XXX	XXX	XXX	XXX	XXX	XXX	XXX	XXX	XXX	XXX
Child Care Facilities/ Space	X	XX	XXX	X	XX	X	X	XX	X	X
Staff Training and Certification	X	X	XXX	XX	X	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX
Parent Education and Involvement	XX	XX	XX	XXX	XX	XX	XX	XXX	XXX	XXX
Public Education	XX	X	X	XXX	X	X	XX	XX	XXX	XX
Advocacy			X	X	X		X	X	X	
Child Care Costs and Funding	XXX	XXX	XX	XX	XXX	XX	XXX	XXX	XX	XX
Working Mothers and Child Care	XX	XX	XX	XX	XXX	XX	XX	XXX	XX	XX
Child Care: Relationship to Public Schools	XXX	X	X	XX	XX	X	XX	X	X	X

Specific Issues of Child Care Needs by Region

INFORMATION SERVICES: PLANNING AND COORDINATION

Watertown

--planning: survey of local community needs
--central information services: procesures, start-up help

Worcester

--clarify: who can get what kind of help from which agency
--need correct information in local agency offices
--need professional help in planning
--funds for planning

Haverhill

--organizing help from State to community groups
--information cleaninghouse
--agency coordination
--State resource people available
--sharing and coordinated planning among programs
--GAP between needs and services: need accurate surveys

Fitchburg

--integrate and coordinate available services

Fall River

--ONE SYSTEM: one central place for information: start-up, standards, regulations, certification, available services, monitoring, funding, etc.
--consistent Federal/State/local policies
--clear up conflicting information among agencies
--State policies: recognize different needs in different parts of the state and allow varied solutions
--end conflicting guidelines: coordinate programs
--possible conflict: local 4C and potential State regional staff

Framingham

--how to "police" increased child care services: how can the State contribute to quality
--need one place for basic information: program, licensing, funding, etc. Suggest resource center at State level
--planning: focus for continuing communication with groups interested in child care

Pittsfield

--central place for child care information
--child care consulting team at State regional level
--one resource center for information from all departments
--consultation to up-grade services
--good referral service to find available space

Holyoke

--information service should include existing non-profit centers
--standards and guidelines from State to insure quality

Boston

--central department orientation for day care
--State policy to provide broad information
--State help in establishing child care
--mechanism to evaluate services provided
--need a coalition to avoid fighting among child care interest groups
--State should not operate programs

Salem

--coordination of resources: central place to get together
--get agencies to work together for children
--4C is a mechanism which will require sharing of interests and power

Salem Cont'd

--correct information about rules and regulations
--help to organize enthusiasm of local groups to get programs going
--need one place to go for help with child care: bring together fragmented activities of Federal, State and local agencies

LICENSING AND REGULATION

Watertown

- --common standard under the State: Regional; not locally delegated autonomy (too arbitrary)
- --uniform application
- --consistent information from State agencies

Worcester

- --consistent interpretation
- --re-examine delegation from State to local authority
- --need correct information in all agency offices (Regional and local)
- --consistent rules and regulations
- --family day care: make licensing possible; clear-up safety limitations
- --eliminate agency duplication

Haverhill

- --need for consistent rules and regulations

Fitchburg

- --division of licensing between health and welfare causes much confusion and difficulty for the public

Fall River

- --provisional license for new centers
- --consistent Federal, State and local policies
- --conflicting information between agencies (bureaucratic confusion): becomes an obstacle to services
- --provisional license for family day care homes: time to meet requirements
- --end conflicting guidelines: coordinate government programs

Framingham

- --problem with delegation of authority to local town: lack expertise; interpretations vary greatly
- --consultation to up-grade services

Pittsfield

- --clear licensing rules
- --fear that State will inhibit programs

Holyoke

- --consistent agency policies

Boston

- --basic standards necessary from the State: insure uniform protection
- --standard must be clear and well implemented
- --licensing: "a mess", too complicated, needs clarification
- --licensing: protecting and helping are separate functions
- --regulation should be a help, not a hindrance

Salem

- --laws to work for development of good care (not just to inhibit)
- --"workable system": facilitate development of programs
- --rules and regulations to allow flexible programs
- --agencies working together with focus on children
- --correct information

KINDS OF CHILD CARE NEEDED (Diversity):

Watertown

--after school and odd-hours facilities
--child care for total family needs: all ages
--infant care
--mixed centers: children with special needs and normal children
--SES mix in centers
--children with special needs

Worcester

--comprehensive and coordinated range of services (including: child care, health, recreation, social service needs)
--SES mix in centers
--parent initiated programs
--support diversity: choice for parents
--encourage purchase of service from local community groups
--every family needs some help with their children

Haverhill

--need methods to determine what is good child care for individual child and family
--retain identity of individual child care centers (while cooperating on planning
--infant care
--after school care
--community child care centers: comprehensive care for broad range of ages and hours
--programs for whole family's needs

Fitchburg

--child care for odd hours, short periods
--diverse needs
--infant services
--early identification of needs
--children with special needs
--explore family day care and systems
--explore alternatives to day care center model
--comprehensive, coordinated services

Fall River

--working mothers need multi-age care
--after school care
--comprehensive care
--recognize and support diversity
--include children with special needs in overall programs

Framingham

--support diversity: different needs in different communities
--need many types of care: (small centers, home care, co-ops, etc.)
--multi-age programs
--after school care
--day care centers in high schools

Pittsfield

--nursery school as an option for all children
--after school care
--flexible hours
--mixed age groups
--Headstart philosophy
--home care
--education for children
--children with special needs
--support diversity
--local control/local options

Holyoke

--after school care
--children with special needs: (include in normal service where possible)
--options and diversity: choice for parents, many types of care
--infant care
--family day care
--child care assistance for parents to provide own care
--support parents in their roles
--comprehensive care
--involve high school
--focus child care on needs of child
--more available care
--day care to offer needed support to families
--child care for other than working mothers

(KINDS OF CHILD CARE NEEDED Cont'd)

Boston

--child care to serve children (0-18)
--models of different types of care
--diversity of care: infant, after school, family day care, group
--community-controlled care: open for community to design unique programs for its own needs
--parents rights to control institutions which affect the lives of their children and families
--programs across age ranges

Salem

--day and night care: all hours
--child care: focus on child's welfare
--choice in kinds of child care
--increased family day care
--infant care
--child care for mothers in training
--odd hour care
--after school care
--care for varied needs
--developmental child care available for all children

CHILD CARE: SPACE/FACILITIES

Watertown

- --industry should participate in meeting child care need
- --day care space should be included in new housing

Worcester

- --more day care space needed: long waiting lists

Haverhill

- --need for child care space: buildings (renovation and new buildings)
- --GAP between needs and services

Fitchburg

- --need space to develop comprehensive child care services

Fall River

- --need workable state regulations to license variety of space for needed care

Framingham

- --space for many kinds of care is needed (large group, home-based, small centers, etc.)

Pittsfield

- --good referral services to find available spaces

Holyoke

- --space needed to make care more available

Boston

- --need clear standards to license many kinds of child care space

Salem

- --need for physical facilities: space for child care

STAFF TRAINING AND CERTIFICATION

Watertown

--stimulation of children by trained professionals

Worcester

--training for child care staff with community planning

Haverhill

--training for child care staff: need "qualified adults"
--training: how much/what kind/what level
--good staff selection procedures
--State resource people available
--sharing and coordinated planning among programs
--training and assistance in administrative skills
--basis for certification: degrees? attitudes? experience?
--desire for credentials: (include personal qualities and experience)

Fitchburg

--State role (through colleges) in training staff: should be available to all throughout the State
--career development
--in-service training
--credit for courses
--what should early childhood education training include?
--family day care needs training in child development

Fall River

--staff should be accountable to local community
--how would State resource staff be selected? (would local community colleges be included?)

Framingham

--career ladders
--training for family day care
--good staff: experience and training; not necessarily degrees
--day care centers and training in high schools
--help with job mobility (especially for less than full teacher status)
--avoid rigid certification requirements (State-local conflict)

Pittsfield

--certificate (not necessarily degree)
--home training for family day care
--Headstart career development philosophy
--child care consulting team
--in-service training
--high school programs
--career development: planning and training

Holyoke

--continuous staff development
--involvement of high school
--establish demonstration projects:
*-special needs of rural areas, include regional high school/colleges
--make resources and education about early childhood education available

Boston

--include men in day care staff
--career ladder
--need for professional credentialling in child care field

Salem

--career development: for credentialled people and non-professionals
--new job opportunities for teacher aides: i.e., public schools
--expand Headstart training philosophy
--involve more men in child care
--child care for mothers in training
--meaningful career ladders
--training for family day care as well as groups
--select for warmth and responsiveness in child care
--need recognition (transferability) for staff training

PARENT EDUCATION AND INVOLVEMENT

Watertown

--day care can contribute to emotional health of adults in family

--parent initiated programs

Worcester

--fears that parents will lose decision powers with public day care

Haverhill

--help parents determine what is good child care for their children and family

--full parent involvement in child care

--clarification of terms: child care, day care, group care, family day care (systems), infant care, after school care, etc.

Fitchburg

--parent training in early childhood education (learn to enjoy child's childhood)

--pre-parent education (Junior High, High School) for all areas of the State

*-get parents ready to use services

--changes in family (parent) roles

--Headstart: learn by doing and watching others with your children

--parent involvement: should be included in all legislation

Fall River

--parent information and training: free and in one place

--mother/child relations: are children better off at home than in centers?

--parent training: most children are at home, not in centers (TV, night school, high school)

--educate parents to use services

--values of good child care (and criteria

--child care now government centered, not people centered

--involve parents in policy making and implementation

Framingham

--what is quality child care?

--develop strong parent role in policy and planning

--involve parents in "policing" child care

Pittsfield

--parent responsibility

--educate families: how can child care support family life

--what constitutes good child care

Holyoke

--parent vouchers for child care

--parent and pre-parent education

--parent involvement: majority of governing board (safeguard against undermining parent's rights)

Boston

--what is quality care

--parental control of quality care

--parents rights to control institutions which affect their children

--community control

Salem

--liberation for all: including children but not excluding parents

--information on how child care can help children develop

--parent involvement at all levels

PUBLIC EDUCATION:

Watertown

--public education for quality child care
--day care as a public responsibility

Worcester

--broad public education on value of child care

Haverhill

--clarification/definition of child care terms

Fitchburg

--public education: costs, needs, quality care
--encourage use of quality care services
--education of legislators on child care

Fall River

--child care now government centered not people centered

Framingham

--educate the public to support diversity in child care

Pittsfield

--public education: what child care is (define various types)

Holyoke

-- day care can offer needed support to families
-- government responsibility to provide care for children when parents are not able

Boston

--educate the community: build political support for child care
--develop constituency for child care

Salem

--education of legislators on child care needs
--high public policy priority for care of young children
--public education
--make information available on how child care can help children develop
--public education, encourage use of services

ADVOCACY

Haverhill

--need an advocate for children
--where to locate?
--age range to include?

Fitchburg

--isolated areas need leadership in child care

Fall River

--child care is now government centered; should be person-centered

Pittsfield

--advocate-independent of any government agency

Holyoke

--focus day care on the needs of the child

Boston

--advocacy for children

CHILD CARE COSTS AND FUNDING:

Watertown

- --costs of transportation important: make it possible to get to child care
- --cost of child care: high (does it pay a mother to work?)
- --serve the poor first
- --need centers for those not rich enough to pay for full care/not poor enough for public subsidy
- --promote SES/income mix in child care
- --retain funding priorities for the poor

Worcester

- --put money into direct services for children and families (not administration)
- --set priorities: when money comes, there is never enough
- --problem of private centers with no subsidy; costs are the same; how to meet expenses without pricing families out of care
- --competition between private and publicly funded care: don't stifle existing services
- --funds for planning
- --open Title IV A funding in Mass.
- --fear of "quality-control" by government with Federal funds
- --need sliding scale fees: (not all or nothing)
- --need mechanism for donated funds to be accepted for Title IV A
- --State should pay in advance for contracts

Haverhill

- --high costs of full day care: need subsidies
- --Federal funding for child care programs
- --mechanism to get funds to local groups

Fitchburg

- --reasonable rates for child care
- --flexible funding: simplified proposal procedures
- --help with funding proposals

Fall River

- --sliding scales: don't enforce economic segregation of children
- --help with start-up costs
- --help local communities to be able to use Title IV A funds
- --problem: welfare department discourages use of franchised day care

Framingham

- --seed money for start-up
- --day care help for working poor
- --sliding fee scale: integrate all income levels

Pittsfield

- --start-up money
- --staff turnover high: pay too low, work long and hard
- --school lunch money not enough for child care food costs
- --more money is needed to run services
- --sliding scale
- --funding for child care

Holyoke

- --paid parent-care vouchers
- --sliding scale payments
- --enabling legislation to allow for use of Title IV A donated funds; legal obstacles in Massachusetts
- --assist existing non-profit centers

Boston

- --subsidy/income waiver: for those just above welfare
- --seed money for start-up
- --unfair when services are not open to low income people not on welfare
- --funding: don't discuss theory until we free up federal money for day care
- --information about funding process: help with proposals
- --get Title IV A used in Massachusetts the way it's supposed to be for past/present/potential welfare clients before federal funds get fixed (while matching funds are still open-ended)

(CHILD CARE COSTS AND FUNDING Cont'd)

Salem

--funds to get programs started
--high costs of good child care
--creative funding: preserve spontenaity

WORKING MOTHERS AND CHILD CARE

Watertown

--costs of child care high; does it pay a mother to work?

Worcester

--Labor Council: a) mothers should not be forces to work, b) day care should be available if mother chooses to work

Haverhill

--priority: day care for working mothers (also, encourage industry to redesign hours, etc.); broad look at possibilities

Fitchburg

--aid to working poor

Fall River

--working mothers need multi-age care

Framingham

--avoid mandatory work for mothers
--day care help for working poor

Pittsfield

--welfare/workfare
--priority: care for school-age child; transportation to and after-school care; help working mothers

Holyoke

--after-school care (so mothers can continue to work)
--subsidy for working mothers: no incentive for mother to work if she loses child care benefits

Boston

--subsidy/income waiver: for those just above welfare
--independent proprietor against "Big Money" from federal government (protect private centers)
--maternity leave for working mothers
--decent salaries in child care field for men and women
--women who need child care should not be assumed to want to work in child care

(Boston Cont'd)

--unfair when services are not open to low income people not on welfare

Salem

--after school care
--child care for student parents
--child care for mothers in training

CHILD CARE: RELATIONSHIP TO PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Watertown

- --need for before and after school care and facilities
- --pre-parent, parent and public education through high schools and State and community colleges
- --day care should serve all children (like public schools)

Worcester

- --impact of day care on kindergarten: need restructuring in schools

Haverhill

- --need for after school care

Fitchburg

- --transportation, needed especially for kindergarten: prevent "Headstart drop-outs"

Fall River

- --staff training for child care through State and community colleges
- --help with job mobility: positions for teacher aides in public schools

Pittsfield

- --explore relationship of day care to public schools
- --priority: care for school-age child: provide transportation to after-school facilities

Holyoke

- --education in-put of child care: affects public schools

Boston

- --child care to service ages (0-18)
- --day care ought to be free, like public schools
- --parents rights to control institutions which affect lives of their children (feel powerless with public schools; still hopeful with child care)

Salem

- --new jobs for teacher aides in public schools
- --credentials for teachers should include ages (2-9) (extend from pre-school through first three grades)

APPENDIX C

I.D. No. ___________
Col. 1-5

M E E P QUESTIONNAIRE

Hello, I'm ____________ from Becker Research Corporation of Boston. We are doing a study among families with children six years old or less. Do you or any one living here have any children six years old or less?

COL. 9

YES . . . . 1 → PROCEED WITH INTERVIEW
NO. . . . . 2 → TERMINATE INTERVIEW
DON'T KNOW. . . . . . 3 → TERMINATE INTERVIEW

READ
This study is being conducted for Harvard University and the information obtained will be very helpful in developing new educational programs for your children. All information is strictly confidential and will only be looked at with information for hundreds of families together.

READ
Is your husband/wife also home? We are interested in speaking to both parents together.

> NOTE!
>
> If respondent is willing to be interviewed but only one parent is at home, attempt to arrange a convenient time for an interview when both parents will be at home. If it appears that there is only one parent because of a separation, divorce, or other reason, interview the parent who is available.

COL. 10

WILLING TO BE INTERVIEWED
  BOTH PARENTS HOME . . . . . . 1 → PROCEED WITH INTERVIEW
  ONLY ONE PARENT AVAILABLE. . . 2 → PROCEED WITH INTERVIEW
NOT WILLING TO BE INTERVIEWED . . . . 3 → TERMINATE INTERVIEW

CHILD LISTING SECTION

1. First, how many children 6 years old or under do you have living here with you?

	COL. 11	SKIP TO
ONE	1	
TWO	2	
THREE	3	
FOUR	4	2
FIVE	5	
SIX	6	
SEVEN	7	
EIGHT	8	
NINE	9	
TEN	0	

2. Could you please tell me the name, age at last birthday, and sex of each of your children 6 years old or less. Let's begin with the oldest.

COL. 12	SEX COL. 13	AGE COL. 14
CHILD No. 1 ____________ Name	Male.....1	6.......1
	Female...2	5.......2
		4.......3
		3.......4
		2.......5
		1.......6
		Under 1.7

COL. 12	SEX COL. 15	AGE COL. 16
CHILD No. 2 ____________ Name	Male.....1	6.......1
	Female...2	5.......2
		4.......3
		3.......4
		2.......5
		1.......6
		Under 1.7

Col. 12	SEX COL. 17	AGE COL. 18
CHILD No. 3 ____________ Name	Male.....1	6.......1
	Female...2	5.......2
		4.......3
		3.......4
		2.......5
		1.......6
		Under 1.7

COL. 12	SEX COL. 19	AGE COL. 20
CHILD No. 4 ____________ Name	Male.....1	6.......1
	Female...2	5.......2
		4.......3
		3.......4
		2.......5
		1.......6
		Under 1.7

COL. 12	SEX COL. 21	AGE COL. 22
CHILD No. 5 ____________ Name	Male.....1	6.......1
	Female...2	5.......2
		4.......3
		3.......4
		2.......5
		1.......6
		Under 1.7

COL. 12	SEX COL. 23	AGE COL. 24
CHILD No. 6 ____________ Name	Male.....1	6.......1
	Female...2	5.......2
		4.......3
		3.......4
		2.......5
		1.......6
		Under 1.7

COL. 12	SEX COL. 25	AGE COL. 26
CHILD No. 7 ____________ Name	Male.....1	6.......1
	Female...2	5.......2
		4.......3
		3.......4
		2.......5
		1.......6
		Under 1.7

COL. 12	SEX COL. 27	AGE COL. 28
CHILD No. 8 ____________	Male.....1	6.......1
Name	Female...2	5.......2
		4.......3
		3.......4
		2.......5
		1.......6
		Under 1.7

COL. 12	SEX COL. 29	AGE COL. 30
CHILD No. 9 ____________	Male.....1	6.......1
Name	Female...2	5.......2
		4.......3
		3.......4
		2.......5
		1.......6
		Under 1.7

	COL. 31	SKIP TO
3. In addition to these children 6 years old or under, how many children over 6 years of age do you have living here with you?	None........0	Children's Pages
	One.........1	4
	Two.........2	4
	Three.......3	4
	Four........4	4
	Five........5	4
	Six.........6	4
	Seven.......7	4
	Eight.......8	4
	Nine........9	4

	INTERVIEWER	SKIP TO
4. Could you please tell me the *age at* last birthday and sex of each of your children over 6 years of age. Let's begin with the oldest.	Write in ages	Children's Pages

COL. 32	SEX		AGE	
		COL. 33		COL. 34-35
CHILD No. 1		Male.....1 Female...2	___	
		COL. 36		COL. 37-38
CHILD No. 2		Male.....1 Female...2	___	
		COL. 39		COL. 40-41
CHILD No. 3		Male.....1 Female...2	___	
		COL. 42		COL. 43-44
CHILD No. 4		Male.....1 Female...2	___	
		COL. 45		COL. 46-47
CHILD No. 5		Male.....1 Female...2	___	
		COL. 48		COL. 49-50
CHILD No. 6		Male.....1 Female...2	___	
		COL. 51		COL. 52-53
CHILD No. 7		Male.....1 Female...2	___	
		COL. 54		COL. 55-56
CHILD No. 8		Male.....1 Female...2	___	
		COL. 57		COL. 58-59
CHILD No. 9		Male.....1 Female...2	___	

INTERVIEWER: Note that you have been provided with separate "Children's Pages" that are to be filled out for each child 6 years old or under. Before proceeding, please transcribe the information from above (child's name and number) onto the appropriate number of "Children's Pages". NOTE: There should be one "Children's Page" for each child under 6 mentioned above.

ECE SECTION

Now I would like to get your impressions on some child care programs.

	COL. 60	SKIP TO
5. First, many parents have a difficult time setting up child care arrangements for their children. What have been your experiences? Have you had a relatively difficult time or an easy time setting up child care arrangements for your children?	DIFFICULT TIME............1	6
	EASY TIME..................2	7
	NOT DIFFICULT -- NOT EASY, SOMEWHERE BETWEEN..........3	7
	DON'T KNOW.................4	7
	OTHER_____________________5 Specify	6
	COL. 61	SKIP TO
6. Could you please explain this? (Probe.)		7
	COL. 62	SKIP TO
7. Under your present circumstances, if you had a choice of any kind of child care arrangement for your children, 6 years old or less, what would you want? (Probe.)		8
	DON'T WANT ANYTHING ELSE..9	10
	COL. 63	SKIP TO
8. For the type of child care you described, how much would your family be able to spend each week for one child?	LESS THAN $5..............1	9
	$5 - 9....................2	9
	$10 - 14..................3	9
	$15 - 19..................4	9
	$20 - 29..................5	9
	$30 - 39..................6	9
	$40 OR MORE...............7	9
	DON'T KNOW................8	9
	NOTHING...................9	9
	COL. 64	SKIP TO
9. For the type of child care you just described, how much would your family be able to spend each week for all your children?	LESS THAN $5..............1	10
	$5 - 9....................2	10
	$10 - 14..................3	10
	$15 - 19..................4	10
	$20 - 29..................5	10
	$30 - 39..................6	10
	$40 - 59..................7	10
	$60 - 79..................8	10
	$80 OR MORE...............9	10
	DON'T KNOW................0	10
	NOTHING	

10. HAND RESPONDENT CARD A

If you had to choose among the various methods of child care on this card, which one would you choose? Just tell me the letter.

TAKE BACK CARD A

	COL. 65	SKIP TO
A. HAVING A NEIGHBOR OR FRIEND TAKE CARE OF YOUR CHILDREN IN YOUR HOME	1	12
B. HAVING ANOTHER MOTHER TAKE CARE OF YOUR CHILDREN IN YOUR HOME	2	12
C. HAVING A NEIGHBOR OR FRIEND TAKE CARE OF YOUR CHILDREN IN THEIR HOME	3	11
D. HAVING ANOTHER MOTHER TAKE CARE OF YOUR CHILDREN IN THEIR HOME	4	11
E. HAVING YOUR CHILDREN CARED FOR IN A CENTER	5	11
F. TAKING CARE OF YOUR CHILDREN IN YOUR HOME	6	12
DON'T KNOW	7	12

11. About how much time would you want your child(ren) to spend there each week?

	COL. 66	SKIP TO
LESS THAN 5 HOURS..........	1	12
5 - 9......................	2	12
10 - 14....................	3	12
15 - 19....................	4	12
20 - 29....................	5	12
30 - 39....................	6	12
40 OR MORE.................	7	12
DON'T KNOW.................	8	12

INTERVIEWER: HAND RESPONDENTS CARD B -- ASK MOTHER AND FATHER SEPARATELY

12. Now I would like to get your impressions of the factors which you consider the most important and least important for a children's program. First, which three factors on the card do you consider most important? Just tell me the letter.

NOTE! If respondent suggests a factor not listed on the card, indicate this below.

	MOTHER COL. 67	FATHER COL. 69	SKIP TO
A. WOULD PROVIDE MEALS..	1	1	13
B. WOULD PROVIDE HEALTH CARE..................	2	2	13
C. CLOSE TO HOME.........	3	3	13
D. A PROGRAM THAT YOUR CHILD COULD BE IN AS LONG AS YOU WANT......	4	4	13
E. WOULD INVOLVE PARENTS...............	5	5	13
F. WOULD TEACH CHILDREN HOW TO READ...........	6	6	13
G. WOULD PROVIDE SPECIAL TOYS.................	7	7	13
H. SPEAK MANY LANGUAGES..	8	8	13
I. AVAILABLE ANYTIME DAY OR NIGHT..........	9	9	13
	COL. 68	COL. 70	SKIP TO
J. STAFFED BY MAN TEACHERS AS WELL AS WOMEN TEACHERS	1	1	13

(con't next page)

		COL. 68	COL. 70	SKIP TO
12. (cont'd)	K. CLOSE TO PLACE OF WORK	2	2	13
	L. PROGRAM WITH CHILDREN LIKE MINE	3	3	13
	M. WOULD PROVIDE T.V.	4	4	13
	N. RACIALLY INTEGRATED WITH CHILDREN OF MANY BACKGROUNDS	5	5	13
	O. WOULD HELP CHILDREN TO GET ALONG BETTER WITH EACH OTHER	6	6	13
	P. WOULD GIVE CHILDREN A CHANCE TO LEARN MORE ABOUT THEIR COMMUNITY	7	7	13

		MOTHER COL. 71	FATHER COL. 73	SKIP TO
13. Now, which three factors on this card do you consider least important? Just tell me the letter.	A. WOULD PROVIDE MEALS	1	1	14
	B. WOULD PROVIDE HEALTH CARE	2	2	14
	C. CLOSE TO HOME	3	3	14
	D. A PROGRAM THAT YOUR CHILD COULD BE IN AS LONG AS YOU WANT	4	4	14
	E. WOULD INVOLVE PARENTS	5	5	14
	F. WOULD TEACH CHILDREN HOW TO READ	6	6	14
	G. WOULD PROVIDE SPECIAL TOYS	7	7	14
	H. SPEAK MANY LANGUAGES	8	8	14
	I. AVAILABLE ANYTIME DAY OR NIGHT	9	9	14
		COL. 72	COL. 74	SKIP TO
	J. STAFFED BY MAN TEACHERS AS WELL AS WOMEN TEACHERS	1	1	14
	K. CLOSE TO PLACE OF WORK	2	2	14
	L. PROGRAM WITH CHILDREN JUST LIKE MINE	3	3	14
	M. WOULD PROVIDE T.V.	4	4	14
	N. RACIALLY INTEGRATED WITH CHILDREN OF MANY BACKGROUNDS	5	5	14
	O. WOULD HELP CHILDREN TO GET ALONG BETTER WITH EACH OTHER	6	6	14
	P. WOULD GIVE CHILDREN A CHANCE TO LEARN MORE ABOUT THEIR COMMUNITY	7	7	14

14. Now, which of these factors would you care about in picking a program for your children?

	MOTHER COL. 75	FATHER COL. 77	SK. TO
A. WOULD PROVIDE MEALS	1	1	15
B. WOULD PROVIDE HEALTH CARE	2	2	15
C. CLOSE TO HOME	3	3	15
D. A PROGRAM THAT YOUR CHILD COULD BE IN AS LONG AS YOU WANT	4	4	15
E. WOULD INVOLVE PARENTS	5	5	15
F. WOULD TEACH CHILDREN HOW TO READ	6	6	15
G. WOULD PROVIDE SPECIAL TOYS	7	7	15
H. SPEAK MANY LANGUAGES	8	8	15
I. AVAILABLE ANYTIME DAY OR NIGHT	9	9	15
	COL. 76	COL. 78	SK. TO
J. STAFFED BY MAN TEACHERS AS WELL AS WOMEN TEACHERS	1	1	15
K. CLOSE TO PLACE OF WORK	2	2	15
L. PROGRAM WITH CHILDREN JUST LIKE MINE	3	3	15
M. WOULD PROVIDE T.V.	4	4	15
N. RACIALLY INTEGRATED WITH CHILDREN OF MANY BACKGROUNDS	5	5	15
O. WOULD HELP CHILDREN TO GET ALONG BETTER WITH EACH OTHER	6	6	15
P. WOULD GIVE CHILDREN A CHANCE TO LEARN MORE ABOUT THEIR COMMUNITY	7	7	15

Take back Card B.

15. If you had an ideal child care arrangement next door at $15 per week for all the children or the same arrangement that was free and 1/2 hour away, which would you choose?

	COL. 10	SK. TO
NEXT DOOR AT $15................	1	16
1/2 HOUR AND FREE................	2	16
DON'T KNOW........................	3	17

16. Why would you choose it?

	COL. 11	SK. TO
		17

		COL. 12	SKIP TO
17. Generally speaking, in selecting an ideal child care arrangement, which is more important to you; the cost of the child care or how close the child care is to home? (Assume the quality is equal in both.)	COST	1	18
	CLOSENESS	2	18
	DON'T KNOW	3	18
	OTHER ______________ Specify	4	18

FOR MOTHERS ONLY

		COL. 13	SKIP TO
18. Do you usually work either full-time or part-time?	YES	1	19
	NO	2	21
	DON'T KNOW	3	21

HAND MOTHER CARD C

	MOTHER'S EARNINGS	COL. 14	SKIP TO
19. Looking at this card, please tell me which income category comes closest to approximating the amount of money you will earn this year. Just give me the letter next to the category.	A. LESS THAN $1000	1	20
	B. $1000 - 1999	2	20
	C. $2000 - 2999	3	20
	D. $3000 - 3999	4	20
	E. $4000 - 4999	5	20
	F. $5000 - 5999	6	20
	G. $7500 - 9999	7	20
	H. $10000 OR MORE	8	20
	I. DON'T KNOW/REFUSED	9	20

TAKE BACK CARD C

HAND MOTHER CARD D

		COL. 15	SKIP TO
20. Looking at this card, could you please tell me the one or two most important reasons that you are currently working. Just tell me the letters.	A. I'M WORKING TO SUPPORT MY FAMILY	1	21
	B. I'M WORKING TO HELP SUPPLEMENT MY HUSBAND'S INCOME	2	21
	C. I'M WORKING PARTLY TO GET OUT OF THE HOUSE	3	21
	D. I'M WORKING BECAUSE I ENJOY WORKING	4	21
	E. I'M WORKING BECAUSE I THINK EVERYONE SHOULD WORK	5	21
	F. I'M WORKING TO SAVE FOR SOMETHING SPECIAL	6	21
	G. OTHER ______________ Specify	7	21

TAKE BACK CARD D

		COL. 16	SKIP TO
21. Would you agree or disagree that the government should assist families with total incomes below $10,000 in paying for any pre-school child care.	AGREE	1	22
	DISAGREE	2	22
	DON'T KNOW	3	23

		COL. 17	SKIP TO
22. Why do you feel this way?			23

		COL. 18	SKIP TO
HAND RESPONDENT CARD E			
23. Now that we have talked a bit about bringing up children; looking at this card, would you like to learn more about any of these subjects. Just tell me the letter.	A. PAYING FOR DAY CARE	1	24
	B. HELPING CHILDREN LEARN	2	24
	C. HELPING CHILDREN TO GROW UP	3	24
	D. PROBLEMS OF FAMILY RELATIONS	4	24
MULTIPLE MENTION	E. SINGLE PARENT FAMILIES	5	24
	F. FATHER'S ROLE IN FAMILY	6	24
	G. WORKING MOTHERS	7	24
	H. PROBLEMS OF BEING A PARENT	8	24
	I. SEX EDUCATION	9	24
	J. DISCIPLINE	0	24
		COL. 19	SKIP TO
	K. DRUG EDUCATION	1	24
	L. ORGANIZING A DAY CARE CENTER	2	24
	M. CHOOSING YOUR CHILD'S TEACHER	3	24
TAKE BACK CARD E	N. NONE	4	29

		COL. 20	SKIP TO
HAND RESPONDENT CARD F			
24. Looking at this card, in what ways might you like to learn about these subjects? Just tell me the letter.	A. NEIGHBORHOOD DISCUSSION GROUPS	1	25
	B. PUBLIC LECTURES	2	25
	C. FAMILY LIFE EDUCATION GROUPS FOR PARENTS	3	25
	D. T.V. SHOWS ON CHILD REARING	4	25
MULTIPLE MENTION	E. CLASSES AT LOCAL SCHOOL	5	25
	F. CLASSES AT DAY CARE CENTER	6	25
	G. WORKING WITH A TEACHER IN THE CLASSROOM	7	25
	H. MAGAZINE ARTICLES	8	25
TAKE BACK CARD F	I. BOOKS ABOUT CHILD CARE	9	25

ATTITUDE SECTION

INTERVIEWER: HAND RESPONDENT CARD G

Now, I would like to get your opinion and attitudes regarding some other things. I am going to read you a list of statements covering a variety of subjects. For each statement I would like you to look at this card and tell me whether you completely agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree or completely disagree with it.

25.		COMPLETELY AGREE	SOMEWHAT AGREE	SOMEWHAT DISAGREE	COMPLETELY DISAGREE	DON'T KNOW/ NO OPINION	COL.
Mothers stay home with children because men want them to	MOTHER	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	21
	FATHER	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	22
Fathers should take more responsibility for child care	MOTHER	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	23
	FATHER	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	24
Schools generally do a good job	MOTHER	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	25
	FATHER	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	26
I feel that day care could make a great difference in my family life	MOTHER	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	47
	FATHER	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	48
The government should offer working mothers the choice of being paid to take care of their children or work	MOTHER	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	29
	FATHER	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	30
Schools should teach children how to fit into society	MOTHER	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	31
	FATHER	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	32
It is bad for parents to try out new and different ways of raising their children	MOTHER	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	33
	FATHER	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	34
A good mother is one who stays home with her children if she doesn't have to work	MOTHER	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	35
	FATHER	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	36
When my children grow up, the world will be almost the same as it is now	MOTHER	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	37
	FATHER	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	38
Improvement in the quality of American life can only be accomplished by revolution	MOTHER	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	39
	FATHER	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	40
America should change its priorities, putting family life and children above everything else	MOTHER	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	41
	FATHER	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	42
Day-care centers are for lower income people	MOTHER	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	43
	FATHER	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	44
I feel that I am very familiar with the idea of day care and the choices of day care arrangements that I might make for my children.	MOTHER	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	45
	FATHER	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	46

INTERVIEWER: TAKE BACK CARD G

Go to Statistical Section - Question A

STATISTICAL SECTION

Now, I would like to ask (both of) you a few background questions for statistical purposes only.

INTERVIEWER: ASK EACH OF THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS OF BOTH THE MOTHER AND FATHER AND RECORD THEIR RESPONSES SEPARATELY.

	MOTHER	FATHER	
	COL. 49	COL. 50	SKIP TO
A. Are you currently employed, unemployed, (or a full-time housewife) or something else? IF HOUSEWIFE AND EMPLOYED, INDICATE BOTH AND SKIP TO "C".	EMPLOYED.....1	1	C
	UNEMPLOYED...2	2	B
	STUDENT......3	3	E
	IN TRAINING..4	4	E
	HOUSEWIFE....5	5	E
	OTHER ________ 6 Specify	6	E
	COL. 51	COL. 52	SKIP TO
B. For how long have you been unemployed?	LESS THAN 3 mo..1	1	E
	3 mo - 6 mo.....2	2	E
	7 mo - 12 mo....3	3	E
	MORE THAN 12 mo.4	4	E
	DON'T KNOW......5	5	E
	COL. 53	COL. 54	SKIP TO
C. What kind of work do you do? In other words, what is your usual occupation?	PROFESSIONAL WORKER......1	1	D
	MANAGER......2	2	D
	SALES........3	3	D
	LABORER......4	4	D
	CLERICAL/ SECRETARIAL.5	5	D
	NO SPECIAL OCCUPATION..6	6	D
	OTHER ________ 7 Specify	7	D
	COL. 55	COL. 56	SKIP TO
D. Would you say that you usually work full time or part time?	FULL TIME....1	1	E
	PART TIME....2	2	E
	OTHER ________ 3 Specify	3	E
	COL. 57	COL. 58	SKIP TO
E. Thinking now about your education, what was the last grade you completed in school?	EIGHTH GRADE OR LESS.....1	1	F
	HIGH SCHOOL INCOMPLETE..2	2	F
	HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATE....3	3	F
	SOME COLLEGE.4	4	F
	COLLEGE GRADUATE.........5	5	F
	GRADUATE OR PROFESSIONAL SCHOOL......6	6	F
	DON'T KNOW...7	7	F
	COL. 59	COL. 60	SKIP TO
F. All of us living in America have our own roots in some other country. Would you please tell me what nationality group you yourself feel closest to, in addition to being American?	UNITED STATES.1	1	G
	CANADA........2	2	G
	IRELAND.......3	3	G
	ITALY.........4	4	G
	POLAND........5	5	G
	PORTUGAL......6	6	G
	RUSSIA........7	7	G
	ENGLAND.......8	8	G
	AFRICA........9	9	G
	OTHER ________ 0 Specify	0	G
	DON'T KNOW....X	X	G

		COL. 64	COL. 65	SKIP TO
I.	Please look at this card and give me the letter of the group within which your own age group falls.	A - UNDER 21.1	1	J
		B - 21 - 25..2	2	J
		C - 26 - 30..3	3	J
		D - 31 - 35..4	4	J
		E - 36 - 40..5	5	J
		F - 41 - 45..6	6	J
		G - OVER 45..7	7	J

		COL. 66	SKIP TO
J.	For statistical purposes only, we need to know your total family income for 1969. Please look at the bottom section of this card and give me the letter which covers your total family income before taxes. Include all monies received by you or any member of your family. Just give me the letter.	A - UNDER $1,999....1	K
		B - $2000-3399......2	K
		C - $3400-4799......3	K
		D - $4800-6199......4	K
		E - $6200-7599......5	K
		F - $7600-8999......6	K
		G - $9000-10,399....7	K
		H - $10,400-14,999..8	K
		I - $15,000-19,999..9	K
		J - $20,000 OR MORE.0	K
		K - REFUSED.........X	K

TAKE BACK CARD H

		COL. 67	SKIP TO
K.	By the way, does this city you live in have a public kindergarten program?	YES.................1	L
		NO..................2	L
		DON'T KNOW..........3	L

		COL. 68	SKIP TO
L.	Aside from you, (your spouse,) and your children, what other adults live here with you?	Grandmother.........1	M
		Grandfather.........2	M
		Uncle...............3	M
		Aunt................4	M
		Friend..............5	M
		Other relative......6	M
		Boarder.............7	M
		Other_______________8	M
		None................9	M

		COL. 69	COL. 70	SKIP TO
M.	Race (DO NOT ASK)	WHITE........1	1	N
		BLACK........2	2	
		OTHER........3	3	

		COL. 71	COL. 72	SKIP TO
N.	Sex (DO NOT ASK)	MALE..........1	1	END
		FEMALE........2	2	

Respondents' Names____

Street address______________________ City or town______________

Telepone number________________

I certify that this is a complete and honest interview taken in accordance with my instructions.

Interviewer's Signature___________________________ Date______

Validated by______________________________ Date______

For Most Questions
the Major
Respondent Was COL. 73

MOTHER............1
FATHER............2
BOTH..............3

Length of Interview COL. 74

LESS THAN 30 Minutes..1
30 - 45 minutes.......2
45 - 60 minutes.......3
60 - 75 minutes.......4
75 - 70 minutes.......5
90 - 105 minutes......6
MORE THAN 105 Minutes.7

County COL. 75

Berkley......1
Franklin.....2
Hampshire....3
Hamden.......4
Norfolk......5
Suffolk......6
Middlesesx...7
Essex........8
Manchester...9
Bristol......0
Plymouth.....x
Barnstable...y
COL. 76
Dukes........1

Type of area COL. 77

Urban.........1
Rural.........2 (Sparsely populated areas in country-like settings)

Variable length
beginning with Card III

CHILDREN'S PAGE

I.D. No. ________
Col. 1-5

COL. 10			
1	4	7	0
2	5	8	
3	6	9	

Name of Child ______________________________ Child Number

INTERVIEWER: NOTE, The Child Number indicated here should correspond with the CHILD number indicated in the Listing Section.

Now, I would like to talk to you about each of your children separately and about how each of them normally spends their time.

		COL. 11	SKIP TO
1. First, talking about ________, (name) does ________ (name) regularly spend any time away from home during the week?	YES	1	2
	NO	2	18
	SOMETIMES	3	2
		COL. 12	SKIP TO
2. Where or with whom does ________ (name) regularly spend time away from home each week? Indicate that one place or person where most time is spent.	Nursery school-public	1	3
	Nursery school-private	2	3
	Day care center	3	3
	Head Start program	4	3
	Private kindergarten	5	3
	Public kindergarten	6	3
	First grade	7	33
	At a relative	8	10
	Friend or neighbor	9	10
	Informal play group	0	10
	Other ____________ Specify	x	10
		COL. 13	SKIP TO
3. About how many hours per week does ________ (name) attend this school or program?	LESS THAN 5 HOURS	1	4
	6 - 9	2	4
	10 - 14	3	4
	15 - 19	4	4
	20 - 29	5	4
	30 - 39	6	4
	40 OR MORE	7	4
	DON'T KNOW	8	4
4. Now, approximately, how much do you pay per week to send ________ (name) to this school or program excluding the cost of any bus or pick-up service you use? (INTERVIEWER: If respondent pays monthly or daily, calculate yourself the total weekly fee.)	INTERVIEWER: NOTE WHETHER INDICATED IS	COL. 14	SKIP TO
	MORNINGS ONLY	1	
	AFTERNOONS ONLY	2	
	BOTH	3	
		COL. 15	
	A - NOTHING	1	7
	B - $5 OR LESS	2	5
	C - $6 - 10	3	5
	D - $11 - 15	4	5
	E - $16 - 20	5	5
	F - $21 - 25	6	5
	G - $26 - 30	7	5
	H - $31 OR MORE	8	5
	I - DON'T KNOW	9	5
		COL. 16	SKIP TO
5. Do you or your family pay this entire amount yourselves or does someone else help you in paying?	PAY ENTIRE AMOUNT	1	7
	SOMEONE ASSISTS	2	6
	DON'T KNOW	3	7

		COL. 16	SKIP TO
6. Who assists you in paying for this schooling or program?	FEDERAL GOVERNMENT	1	7
	STATE GOVERNMENT	2	7
	FRIEND OR RELATIVE	3	7
	WELFARE	4	7
	OTHER ____________ Specify	5	7
	PICKED UP	0	
		COL. 18	SKIP TO
7. About how much time does it take you to bring________ (name) to________________? (response in 2)	LESS THAN 5 MINUTES	1	8
	5 - 10 MINUTES	2	8
	11 - 20 MINUTES	3	8
	21 - 30 MINUTES	4	8
	MORE THAN 30 MINUTES	5	8
		COL. 19	SKIP TO
8. Does________ (name) receive her/ his meals at________________? (response in 2)	YES	1	9
	NO	2	9
	SOMETIMES	3	9
	DON'T KNOW	4	9
		COL. 20	SKIP TO
9. Does________ (name) receive medical care at________________? (response in 2)	YES	1	25
	NO	2	25
	SOMETIMES	3	25
	DON'T KNOW	4	25
		COL. 21	SKIP TO
10. About how many hours each week does________ spend time at________________? (response in 2)	1 - 3	1	11
	4 - 6	2	11
	7 - 9	3	11
	10 - 14	4	11
	15 - 19	5	11
	20 - 29	6	11
	30 - 39	7	11
	40 HOURS OR MORE	8	11
		COL. 22	SKIP TO
11. About how much time does it take you to bring________ (name) to________________? (response in 2)	LESS THAN 5 MINUTES	1	12
	5 - 10 MINUTES	2	12
	11 - 20 MINUTES	3	12
	21 - 30 MINUTES	4	12
	MORE THAN 30 MINUTES	5	12
		COL. 23	SKIP TO
12. Does________ (name) receive her/ his meals at________________? (response in 2)	YES	1	13
	NO	2	13
	SOMETIMES	3	13
	DON'T KNOW	4	13
		COL. 24	SKIP TO
13. Does________ (name) receive regular medical care at________________? (response in 2)	YES	1	14
	NO	2	14
	SOMETIMES	3	14
	DON'T KNOW	4	14
		COL. 25	SKIP TO
14. Do you do anything in return or pay for________________ (response in 2) taking care of your child?	YES, DO SOMETHING IN RETURN	1	15
	NO, DON'T DO ANYTHING	2	25
	PAY	3	17
	OTHER ____________ Specify	4	16
	DON'T KNOW	5	25
		COL. 26	SKIP TO
15. What do you do in return for________________ (response in 2) taking care of your child?			16
		COL. 27	SKIP TO
16. About how many hours each week do you spend doing this?	1 - 3	1	25
	4 - 6	2	25
	7 - 9	3	25
	10 - 14	4	25
	15 - 19	5	25
	20 HOURS OR MORE	6	25
	DON'T KNOW	7	25

17. About how much do pay each week for ____________ to
(response in 2)
take care of your child?

	COL. 28	SKIP TO
NOTHING	1	25
LESS THAN $5	2	25
$5 - 9	3	25
$10 - 14	4	25
$15 - 19	5	25
$20 - 24	6	25
$25 - 29	7	25
$30 - 49	8	25
$50 OR MORE	9	25
DON'T KNOW	0	25

18. Aside from yourself, is ________ regularly cared for
(name)
at home by anyone else?

	COL. 29	SKIP TO
YES	1	19
NO	2	32
DON'T KNOW	3	32

19. Who else regularly cares for ________ at home?
(name)

	COL. 30	SKIP TO
MOTHER	1	20
FATHER	2	20
BABYSITTER	3	20
GRANDMOTHER	4	20
FRIEND/RELATIVE	5	20
OTHER CHILDREN IN FAMILY	6	20
OTHER ______________ Specify	7	20

20. About how many hours per week does ____________ take care
(response in 19)
of ____________?
name

	COL. 31	SKIP TO
1 - 3 HOURS	1	21
4 - 6 HOURS	2	21
7 - 9 HOURS	3	21
10 - 14 HOURS	4	21
15 - 19 HOURS	5	21
20 - 29 HOURS	6	21
30 - 39 HOURS	7	21
40 HOURS OR MORE	8	21
DON'T KNOW	9	21

21. Do you do anything in return or pay for ________________
(response in 19)
taking care of your child?

	COL. 32	SKIP TO
YES, DO SOMETHING IN RETURN	1	22
NO, DON'T DO ANYTHING	2	31
PAY	3	24
OTHER ______________ Specify	4	23
DON'T KNOW	5	31

22. What do you do in return for ____________ taking care
(response in 19)
of your child?

	COL. 33	SKIP TO
		23

23. About how many hours each week do you spend doing this?

	COL. 34	SKIP TO
1 - 3	1	31
4 - 6	2	31
7 - 9	3	31
10 - 14	4	31
15 - 19	5	31
20 HOURS OR MORE	6	31
DON'T KNOW	7	31

24. About how much do you pay each week for ________________
(Response in 19)
to take care of your child?

	COL. 35	SKIP TO
NOTHING	1	31
LESS THAN $5	2	31
5 - 9	3	31
10 - 14	4	31
15 - 19	5	31
20 - 24	6	31
25 - 29	7	31
30 - 49	8	31
50 OR MORE	9	31
DON'T KNOW	0	31

25. You told me where ________
name
spends time away from home.
Now, when ________ is at home,
name
who aside from yourself regularly takes care of him/her?

	COL. 36	SKIP TO
	NOBODY ELSE..............0	31
	MOTHER...................1	31
	FATHER...................2	31
	BABYSITTER...............3	26
	GRANDMOTHER..............4	26
	FRIEND/RELATIVE..........5	26
	OTHER CHILDREN IN FAMILY.6	26
	OTHER ____________....7	26
	LEFT ALONE...............8	31

26. About how many hours per week does ________________ take
(response in 25)
care of ____________?
Name

	COL. 37	SKIP TO
	1 - 3 HOURS..............1	27
	4 - 6 HOURS..............2	27
	7 - 9 HOURS..............3	27
	10 - 14 HOURS............4	27
	15 - 19 HOURS............5	27
	20 - 29 HOURS............6	27
	30 - 39 HOURS............7	27
	40 HOURS OR MORE.........8	27
	DON'T KNOW...............9	27

27. Do you do anything in return or pay for ________________
(response in 25)
taking care of your child?

	COL. 38	SKIP TO
	YES, DO SOMETHING IN RETURN.1	28
	NO, DON'T DO ANYTHING.......2	31
	PAY.........................3	30
	OTHER ______________......4 Specify	29
	DON'T KNOW...............5	31

28. What do you do in return for ________________ taking care
(response in 25)
of your child?

	COL. 39	SKIP TO
		29

29. About how many hours each week do you spend doing this?

	COL. 40	SKIP TO
	1 - 3....................1	31
	4 - 6....................2	31
	7 - 9....................3	31
	10 - 14..................4	31
	15 - 19..................5	31
	20 HOURS OR MORE.........6	31
	DON'T KNOW...............7	31

30. About how much do you pay each week for ________________ to
(response in 25)
take care of your child?

	COL. 41	SKIP TO
	NOTHING..................1	31
	LESS THAN $5.............2	31
	$5 - 9...................3	31
	$10 - 14.................4	31
	$15 - 19.................5	31
	$20 - 24.................6	31
	$25 - 29.................7	31
	$30 - 40.................8	31

31. Does this child care arrangement for ________ vary from
Name
week to week or is it pretty much the same each week?

	COL. 42	SKIP TO
	SAME.....................1	32
	VARY.....................2	32
	DON'T KNOW...............3	32
	OTHER ______________......4 Specify	32

32. If you were not able to use this child care arrangement, what other arrangement would you use?

	COL. 43	SKIP TO
		33

33. Does ________ have any
name
serious problems or handicaps?

	COL. 44	SKIP TO
	YES......................1	34
	NO.......................2	Next chil

34. What is the nature of this problem?

	COL. 45	SKIP TO
		Next chil

APPENDIX D

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APPENDIX E

MASSACHUSETTS ADVISORY COUNCIL ON EDUCATION
182 Tremont Street
Boston, Massachusetts 02111

Publications

1971

Burton Blatt and Frank Garfunkel, "Massachusetts Study of Educational Opportunities for Handicapped and Disadvantaged Children"

Donald T. Donley, "Organizing for a Child's Learning Experience: A Report on a Study of School District Organization in Massachusetts"

Lloyd S. Michael, "Quality Education for the High Schools in Massachusetts: A Study of the Comprehensive High School in Massachusetts"

1970

Joseph M. Cronin, "Organizing an Urban School System for Diversity"

John S. Gibson, "The Massachusetts Department of Education: Proposals for Progress in the 70's"

Daniel Jordan and Kathryn H. Spiess, "Compensatory Education in Massachusetts: An Evaluation with Recommendations"

Melvin Levin and Joseph Slavet, "Continuing Education in Massachusetts: State Programs for the Seventies"

Charlotte Ryan, "The State Dollar and the Schools: A Discussion of State Aid Programs in Massachusetts and Promising Reforms"

Warren King and Associates, "Report of the Massachusetts Business Task Force for School Management"

1969

Andre Danière, "A Cost Benefit Analysis of General Purpose State School Aid Formulas in Massachusetts"

___________ and George Madaus, "The Measurement of Alternative Costs of Educating Catholic Children in Public Schools"

Bruce Dunsmore, "Guidelines for Planning and Constructing Community Colleges

Herbert Hoffman, "Take a Giant Step: Evaluation of Selected Aspects of Project 750"

Gordon Liddle and Arthur Kroll, "Pupil Services in Massachusetts Schools"

Publications (cont'd.)

1968

Information Management, Inc., "The Management of Educational Information"

Carl Schaefer and Jacob Kaufman, "Occupational Education for Massachusetts"

Lindley J. Stiles, "Teacher Certification and Preparation in Massachusetts"

1967

Samuel Gove, "The Massachusetts System of Higher Education in Transition"

New England School Development Council, "Inequalities of Educational Opportunity in Massachusetts"